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# Near East/North Africa Report

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14 April 1982

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EGYPTIAN LABOR IN KUWAIT DISCUSSED

Kuwait AL-SIYASAH in Arabic 13 Feb 82 p 4

[Article by Sayyid 'Uthman: "Egyptian Labor Adviser in Kuwait: Demand for Egyptian Manpower Constant in the Gulf in General, Kuwait in Particular; Relations Good Between Workers and Employers"]

[Text] System of Labor Offices in Kuwait Proved Its Success in Solving Any Disputes;

Door Open Here for Egyptian Workers to Participate in the First Egyptian Workers Bank;

Office Takes Part in Attracting Labor Force for Any Agency in Kuwait;

Currently Making Arrangements to Send 750 Workers to Hospitals.

Kamil 'Uthman, the labor adviser in the Egyptian interests section in Kuwait, confirmed that the demand for Egyptian manpower is continuing in the Gulf in general and in Kuwait in particular. He stated that relations are good between the producers (Egyptian manpower in Kuwait) and Kuwaiti businessmen, in a manner which surpasses the relationship established by labor agreements.

At a press conference held on the first anniversary of the establishment of the labor representation office in Kuwait, Mr Kamil 'Uthman stated that many companies and organizations are requesting that they be provided with Egyptian technicians and manpower. The office, in turn, has acted to facilitate these contracts without resorting to travel agencies or other parties which might exploit the workers or employers.

At the conference, which was attended by Mr Yahya 'Awad, the information attache from the Egyptian interests section, Mr 'Uthman said that, in the year since the labor representation office was established, he has noticed that all Egyptian workers here in Kuwait are the object of the patronage and respect of the Kuwaiti Government and people. For this reason, they feel that they are in their own country sheltered by Kuwaiti laws, whether they are government civil service laws or the labor laws for private sector workers. He explained that this made his job very easy, since there are no labor disputes in the commonly understood sense, except for some simple directives to the workers concerning incidental matters which occur during or because of

work. He added: "For the record, I admire the system of labor offices in Kuwait and its method of solving disputes, whether through compromise or submission to the courts, without differentiating between Kuwaitis and newcomers."

Concerning other aspects of work in the labor representation office in the division of Egyptian interests section, Adviser Kamil 'Uthman said that the office also takes responsibility for assisting the workers in completing their consular transactions with regard to renewing their passports, replacing lost or worn-out ones, or having documents authenticated. It is possible for any institution which has Egyptian workers to designate a representative for them, who is responsible for completing their consular transactions without those workers going to the consulate. This gives them the time they need to devote to their work. In the area of assistance, the office also advises the Egyptian workers on the advantages of joining the social security system for workers abroad, which is covered by the Egyptian Social Security Commission. The office succeeded in forming a labor committee from representatives of workers at the large institutions. This committee has come to be considered one of the general execulatory committees for members of the Egyptian community, which used to include all factions of the community except the workers.

Adviser Kamil 'Uthman stated that this committee helps any worker who experiences any emergency or material or social problem. The committee also proved its effectiveness through the invitation to enroll in the workers' bank. Enrollment in the bank is currently handled through the labor office in Kuwait. This bank was founded jointly by the labor union of Egypt, the Insurance and Pensions Commission, and the Social Security Commission. It is the first workers' bank serving the largest sector of the public, whether by setting up economic projects and agricultural manufacturing, transferring the savings of workers abroad, or paving the way for them to lease apartments in Egypt at the lowest prices. The remaining shares available for enrollment are valued at a million Egyptian pounds. Applications for enrollment in this bank can be obtained from the Egyptian interests section in Kuwait.

Mr Kamil 'Uthman explained that the labor office also contacts the agencies where the workers work in Egypt to request renewal of their leave without pay so that they can work at the Kuwaiti institutions which ask them to remain there.

In addition, the office also offers help to Kuwaiti institutions seeking Egyptian workers through [contacts] with labor organizations operating in Egypt which nominate the required number of persons from any vocation by selecting those who are suitable vocationally and medically and who meet all the requirements at no cost to the Kuwaiti institution or the workers. The ministry in Cairo is responsible for preparing them at specified times for a committee from the desiring company to come to select them and sign contracts with them. Thus, the office takes part in limiting referrals to travel agencies and others who mistreat the workers and the employers. Contracts have actually been concluded with three companies to receive about 750 workers for work in the Ministry of Health hospitals. Steps are now under way to contract with workers and to bring them to Kuwait. The office is pleased to offer these services to any institution in Kuwait which wants to send for workers from Egypt.

The office also is now preparing a guide booklet for those who have been selected to work in Kuwait or those who want to do so. It includes the necessary advice and information about living conditions, climate, wage levels, and legal procedures for entering Kuwait.

At the conclusion of the conference, Adviser Kamil 'Uthman expressed his hope that the office will be able to take part in offering a lot of technical support in the areas of manpower planning, trade-union activities, and education for workers in Kuwait.

It is worth mentioning that the office is one of seven labor offices operating in Jiddah, Riyadh, Qatar, Baghdad, and the United Arab Emirates.

It is also worth mentioning that more than 41,000 Egyptians were granted entry permits to work in Kuwait during the first 9 months of last year. Also, more than 35,000 were granted work permits for the first time. The proportion of Egyptian workers in the construction and building sector in Kuwait reached about 51 percent (this was during the first 9 months of last year), followed by 22 percent in the business and restaurant sectors.

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CSO: 4404/296

DETAILS OF ECONOMIC COOPERATION BETWEEN KUWAIT, QATAR DISCUSSED

Kuwait AL-SIYASAH in Arabic 16 Feb 82 p 9

[Article: "Special Report for Qatar News Agency: Economic Relations Between Kuwait and Qatar Steadily Developing and Flourishing; Uniform Economic Agreement for Nations of the Cooperation Council Draws Broad Framework for Bipartisan and Regional Cooperation"]

[Text] Qatar and Kuwait are linked by a number of economic agreements on the level of bipartite, Gulf and Arab relations.

On the level of bipartite relations, Qatar and Kuwait both signed an agreement for mutual economic and trade cooperation in 1978. It was signed for Qatar by Shaykh 'Abdul-'Aziz bin Khalifah Al Thani, Minister of Finance and Petroleum, and for Kuwait by Mr 'Abdul-Rahman al-'Atiqi, Minister of Finance at that time. Shaykh Khalifah bin Hamad Al Thani, Amir of Qatar, sanctioned this agreement on 30 July 1979.

The agreement was aimed at: Coordinating economic and monetary policies between the two countries; achieving rapprochement in trade, manufacturing and financial legislation and the customs systems; and establishing the economic, commercial and technical cooperation which provides freedom to the citizens of both countries in establishing, using, operating and conducting economic activities in the other country. It also encourages undertaking economic development projects and free transfer of capital.

Both countries import from the other many commodities, intermediate products necessary for growth operations, varied consumer goods, and manufactured products. The value of Kuwait's imports from Qatar in 1980 was about 80 million Qatari riyals, and around 20 million in 1981. Meanwhile, the value of Qatar's imports from Kuwait in 1980 was about 55 million Qatari riyals, and around 60 million riyals in 1981.

Foremost among the commodities and products which Kuwait imports from Qatar are steel reinforcing rods and some foodstuffs and textiles, while Qatar imports from Kuwait prefabricated houses, asbestos, automobiles, dyes and manufactured sweets.

The formula for economic cooperation between Qatar and Kuwait is represented on the Gulf level by the unified economic agreement signed by member states of the Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC]. It was sanctioned by Shaykh Khalifah bin Hamad Al Thani, Amir of Qatar, and His Highness Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Sabah, along with their royal brothers the Kings, rulers and Amirs of the other states of the Council. This was during the second meeting of the Cooperation Council's Supreme Council, which was held in Riyadh on 10 November last year.

This agreement contains 25 articles which include provisions to unify and coordinate the policies of member nations, among them Qatar and Kuwait, in the areas of economics, monetary policy, petroleum, customs, and trade. In other words, these provisions are designed to achieve the financial and economic aspects of the GCC's goals, considering economic unity to be the firm and solid foundation which are a prerequisite to political unity.

This agreement is rightfully considered an impressive accomplishment which would have been impossible to achieve in this short time had the creative political administration of the Cooperation Council states not backed and supported it.

Among the requirements of the unified economic agreement, which represents the cornerstone of joint Gulf action, is that member nations in the Council coordinate their policies and trade relations and form regional economic blocs and leagues as an attempt to create equivalent situations and conditions in their commercial transactions with each other.

In order to achieve this objective, the member nations are taking a number of steps, among them: Coordinating import and export policies and systems; coordinating policies on creating a reserve of foodstuffs; jointly contracting economic agreements in cases where the common interests of the member nations are served; and working to form collective bargaining power to support their base of negotiation with foreign parties in the areas of importing basic necessities and exporting their primary products.

The agreement has established new areas for cooperation among the six Gulf states, Qatar and Kuwait included. It expanded the previous levels of cooperation stipulated by the bipartite agreement, moving many of them from mere coordination and joint consultation to the point of acknowledging the necessity of compiling common policies in these areas.

The agreement also stipulated that the member nations strive to unify the regulations and laws related to investment for the sake of attaining a common investment policy position aimed at directing their domestic and foreign investments so as to serve the interests and aspirations of their people in growth and progress. Within the scope of this unified and collective effort, this past January the ministers of finance and economy of the GCC states agreed to establish the Gulf Investment Foundation to carry out their work within the Gulf region and in various parts of the world. It was decided that the committee of experts and lawyers will meet in the last week of February in Riyadh to prepare the final form for establishing the Gulf Investment Foundation.

Both Qatar and Kuwait are also members of the Gulf Organization for Industrial Consulting. It will have a great influence in promoting industrial experimentation in the Gulf states and pushing them forward.

Both Qatar and Kuwait participate in the five temporary committees which were formed within the framework of the GCC. They bring together the concerned ministers of the six Gulf states to work on coordination and cooperation with the General Secretariat of the Council in support of economic integration among these states.

These committees are: The Economic and Social Planning Committee; the Financial, Economic and Trade Cooperation Committee; the Industrial Cooperation Committee; the Oil Committee; and the Social and Educational Services Committee.

On the level of Arab economic relations, Qatar and Kuwait participate in more than 25 projects in common, which they founded with a number of sister states to support Arab economic cooperation. One of them is the Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa. Its headquarters is in Khartoum, and it has capital amounting to \$73.8 million.

Both nations are among the seven Gulf Arab states which founded the International Gulf Bank with headquarters in Bahrain. It is the bank which was originated in 1975 with capital valued at 70 million Bahraini dinars distributed equally among the member nations. They are, in addition to Qatar and Kuwait; the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, the Sultanate of Oman, and Iraq.

Both nations participate in the Islamic Development Bank, with headquarters in Jiddah and capital of 750 Islamic dinars, about \$800 million.

Qatar and Kuwait are charter members of the Arab-African International Bank in which six Arab nations take part, among them Egypt, Iraq, Algeria and Jordan.

Qatar and Kuwait are participating and charter members of the United Arab Shipping Company, headquartered in Kuwait.

Both nations participate with Saudi Arabia in the Arab Maritime Transportation Company. Its headquarters is in Riyadh with a capital of 140 million Saudi riyals. They are also both charter members of the Arab Investment Company, headquartered in Riyadh. The company's capital amounts to \$300 million.

Both nations are also members of the Arab Petroleum Investments Company, which has adopted Riyadh as its headquarters. The company's capital amounts to 3.6 billion Saudi riyals

Qatar and Kuwait also participate in the Arab Maritime Petroleum Transportation Company centered in Kuwait. It belongs to the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC), which includes Qatar and Kuwait in its membership. The company's capital is \$500 million. They also both participate in the SUMED oil pipeline company headquartered in Alexandria with a capital of \$400 million.

Both nations also took part in founding the Arab Pharmaceutical Industries Company, with headquarters in Jordan. Qatar and Kuwait each have a share amounting to 5 million Kuwaiti dinars in the company's capital, valued at \$60

million. [They also are members of] the Arab Organization for Agricultural Investment and Expansion, centered in Khartoum, with a capital of 25 million Kuwaiti dinars.

Both nations also took part in founding the Arab Company for Animal Resource Promotion headquartered in Damascus. Qatar's share in its capital is 60 million Kuwaiti dinars six million dinars [sic].

Both nations also participated in founding the INTRA Investment Company with headquarters in Beirut. Qatar's share in its capital is 200 million Lebanese pounds.

Both nations are also charter members of the Gulf Aluminum Milling Company. Its charter was signed in Manamah on 10 December. Five Gulf states share in it; Qatar's share in the company's capital amounts to 24 million Bahraini dinars 2.4 million dinars [sic], while Kuwait's share is 4.8 million Bahraini dinars. This company is currently constructing an aluminum mill, to begin production at the end of next year with an annual production capacity of 40,000 tons.

Qatar and Kuwait both share in the capital of the Arab Satellite Communications Foundation centered in Riyadh with a capital of \$100 million.

Qatar and Kuwait joined in founding Champs-Elysees Real Estate in Paris with capital valued at 183 million Qatari riyals, distributed equally between the two nations. They are also founding members of the Arab Ship Building and Repair Company centered in Bahrain. Its capital amounts to \$340 million.

Qatar and Kuwait also took part in creating the Arab Investment Security Foundation with headquarters in Kuwait. The Foundation's capital is 25 million Kuwaiti dinars.

The two nations also participate in the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development headquartered in Kuwait with a capital of 800 million Kuwaiti dinars.

The two nations are among the charter nations of the Arab Monetary Fund headquartered in Abu Dhabi with a capital of 250 million dinars.

Both Qatar and Kuwait share in the Arab Development Decade, alongside Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, and Iraq. Its capital amounts to \$5 billion for financing development projects in the less developed Arab nations.

The Board of Directors of the decade project, which includes the Finance Ministers of the five nations, has decided to hold a meeting 26 and 27 April in Kuwait to decide the executory rules for the decade and to discuss financing a number of projects in the less developed Arab nations.

Qatar and Kuwait are also members of many Arab and international foundations, companies and organizations, such as the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries--OPEC--and the Special OPEC Fund headquartered in Vienna. Qatar's share in its capital is \$36 million.

The visit to be made by Shaykh Khalifah bin Hamad Al Thani, Amir of Qatar, to Kuwait 15-17 February and the discussions he will have with His Highness Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Sabah, Amir of Kuwait, will definitely give relations between the two nations a strong push in all areas. This will include economic and trade relations, aside from the strengthening and support it will extend to the GCC, since it constitutes a new step toward hastening achievement of the desired unity, which will guarantee the Arabs their strength and power.

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CSO: 4404/296

'ABDOL QADER SPEECH AT PDPA NATIONAL CONFERENCE

LD241952 Kabul Domestic Service in Dari 1630 GMT 23 Mar 82

[Speech by Maj Gen 'Abdol Qader, member of the PDPA Central Committee, at the PDPA National Conference held in Kabul 15 March--recorded]

[Excerpts] The national conference of the party is an important historic event in PDPA activities and in the life of all toiling people and our heroic armed forces.

From this glorious podium I announce to the members of the conference that our army has taken and will take a formidable part in the struggle for the liquidation of the enemies of our country. [Applause] As a result of the attention and supervision of the PDPA Central Committee, the Politburo and Comrade Babrak Karmal personally, and the disinterested and all-round cooperation of the USSR, our army has constantly moved closer to perfection, its war capability is enhanced, its political and organizational system is being strengthened, it is equipped with technology and modern war equipment and [words indistinct] ammunition and other material and technical means are fully mobilized.

In resolving questions of military construction we are relying and will rely on the experience of our trustworthy friends and primarily the great USSR. [Applause] We will use all of our efforts to strengthen and perfect Afghan-USSR friendship and the military cooperation of our armed forces.

In circumstances where the internal and external counter-revolutionaries want to sow the poisonous seeds of [word indistinct] among our people and our army, we should not allow the enemies of the SAWR revolution to jeopardize these formidable gains of our people, that is the genuine fraternal Afghan-USSR friendship.

The complete acceptance of the action program and other important documents of the party conference by the representatives of the armed forces is fully in accordance with my views.

Finally, on behalf of the DRA armed forces, allow me to assure your esteemed members of the PDPA national conference and the dear beloved Comrade Babrak Armal that we will endeavor persistently and relentlessly for the implementation of the resolutions and decisions of this party conference to enhance fighting capability of the armed forces; and we will fight heroically for the

defeat and elimination of the counterrevolutionaries as soon as possible.  
[Applause] We are fighting for a burgeoning and powerful Afghanistan and  
prosperity for our people and therefore we will be victorious. Our struggle  
is righteous and victory is inevitable. [Applause]

CSO: 4665/12

GOLABZOY SPEAKS AT PDPA NATIONAL CONFERENCE

LD011712 Kabul Domestic Service in Pashto 1630 GMT 24 Mar 82

[Speech by Sayyed Mohammad Golabzoy, member of the PDPA Central Committee and Minister of Interior, at the 23 March Session of the PDPA National Conference in Kabul--recorded]

[Text] Dear Comrade Guests: You heard the comprehensive report presented by Comrade Babrak Karmal, general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee, and the statements made by other delegates, the social, economic and political situations in the DRA were comprehensively examined in Comrade Babrak Karmal's report as well as in the draft action plan of the party. On behalf of all party organizations and all staff of the Ministry of Interiors, I express complete support for those documents [applause] basic points of the activity of the party have been pointed out and the fundamental tasks of the Paril Revolution concerning the future economic, social and political consolidation of the state have been stressed.

The domestic and foreign policies of the party and government and the general policy of the Central Committee have been supported in meetings held by all primary organizatons of the Ministry of Interior. The tasks of all units of the Ministry of Interior relative to safeguarding the revolution and strengthening the unity of the party ranks were discussed at the meetings. Prominent people were appointed delegates to the party national conference. We and the revolutionary Sarandoy have responsible tasks to be carried out and an important role to play in support of local units of authority. The Sarandoy forces are forging ahead with their task to stop smuggling, looting, robbery, bribery and other social evils. [Applause]

Maintaining a secure life for our compatriots remains our central duty. Therefore power must be transferred from the provincial capitals to districts, sub-districts and villages as a result of which relations between the local party organs and the people will become closer. At this time 175 civil institutions, districts and subdistricts maintain (?security), sometimes with other state organs and in other cases independently. Over 2,000 economic enterprises, including fruit farms in Jalalabad and the Jowzjan [words indistinct].

In accordance with the decisions of the party Central Committee, a department of political affairs and political organs were formed in our ministry as a result of which the number of (?party members) in the Sarandoy increased from

5 percent to 12 percent [words indistinct] organization to 16 percent and 3,000 people, of whom a number were privates were recruited to the party in the past year. So far some 600 political workers have been trained while over 200 are currently in training.

Respected delegates; I want to talk about something which is a heartfelt wish of our noble members--the party unity. [Applause] A lot of attention was paid to consolidating the unity of the party in Comrade Babrak Karmal's report. I completely support all those tasks outlined by Comrade Babrak Karmal and in the statement made by Comrade Nur Ahmad Nur, member of the party Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, concerning amendments to the party charter. We completely support the new rules in the charter in which it is stated that no faction, grouping or tribal inclination within the party can be permitted. Party unity is very important. Therefore, we must severely punish all those in the party who do not abide by the regulations in the charter and do not accept party discipline. [Applause] We must create an atmosphere in the party that helps consolidate party unity. Every party member must have the opportunity to put all his energies on the path of the April revolution.

The amendment to the charter stating that the party affairs of the Sarandoy are to be handled by the party Central Committee through the department of political affairs of the Ministry of Interior is also very interesting. Thus the role of the department of political affairs of the Ministry of Interior is still being further enhanced.

Very respected delegates: On behalf of the Ministry of Interior and its party organizations, I completely assure our heroic party, the Central Committee, the DRA, the revolutionary council, the government Comrade Babrak Karmal personally that we will accomplish our sacred duties with self-sacrifice.  
[Applause]

CSO: 4695/3

KABUL 'NEW TIMES' ON CONVENING PDPA CONFERENCE

BK261745 Kabul NEW TIMES in English 14 Mar 82 p 2

[Editorial: "PDPA Countrywide Conference"]

[Text] The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) by convening its countrywide conference, to which the party representatives were elected in a comradely and fraternal atmosphere, is a significant historical event, opening new horizons in the future evolutionary process of the April Revolution and is indicative of the fact that it is sincerely and firmly at the service of toiling masses of the society.

The democratic and reliable process of party elections showed that now in the new and evolutionary phase of the glorious and irreversible April Revolution, the party, under the leadership of esteemed Babrak Karmal, general secretary of PDPA C, enjoys enormous power and its ranks are increasingly consolidated and expanded. Today, the party is reached to such a growth and political and organisational stability, that it is able to convene, victoriously and successfully, the countrywide conference to decide and determine the way for achieving speedy development of our society.

At a glance at the achievements scored during this short span of revolutionary period, especially during its new and revolutionary phase, one can clearly see that the PDPA has constantly grown and developed. Its ranks are expanded, and its unity and cohesion is consolidated. The wide-scale measures taken by the party towards socio-economic transformations to the interest of toiling people of revolutionary Afghanistan, has enabled it to deeply root among the masses, among the people, workers, peasants, craftsmen and intellectuals in the society and the confidence and ties of the people with the party is further strengthened.

The countrywide conference, as a great historical event in the life of our people and our society, is warmly welcomed by the toiling and patriotic people of this country. The convocation of this conference while considered a great political victory for our revolutionary party and government, during which the important document that is the "programme of action" will be approved, determining the direction of party activities for long years to come, will also serve as dynamic force in raising productions in the industrial plans, on the farms, in the social organisations and will provide the grounds for rendering more social services in all fields.

The voluntary and collective works, commitment of skilled and experienced workers to augment productions and agricultural produce and impart their know-how to other workers, are among the important and constructive outcomes of the party countrywide conference already noticeable in many productive plants in the country.

The conference has entrusted heavy and grave duties to each party member, each government employee and each of our compatriots. The conference calls on each of them to work hard and with perseverance, with extra care and sense of responsibility, revolutionary spirit and zeal towards construction of the country, in building a new society thus helping the party to fulfill its tasks with success.

It ought to be noted that our toiling people, under the PDPA, have committed themselves to work sincerely in achieving this end and refrain from no sacrifice, devotion, and dedication towards implementation of the humane objectives of the party and government. We are confident that in the light of solidarity and untiring efforts we will soon build our ever-blossoming country.

The world-devouring U.S. imperialism, who has unleashed an undeclared war against revolutionary Afghanistan, now is witness to increasing solidarity of our people with the PDPA. They see that the PDPA countrywide conference is attended by party members from all over the country. They see that the PDPA countrywide conference is attended by party members from all over the country. They should know that the national and democratic revolution of Afghanistan is irreversible, because the people of this country see their salvation, prosperity under the PDPA, the vanguard of the working class and all toiling people of the country.

We firmly and candidly declare that as we were able to convene, successfully, our party's countrywide conference in Kabul, with the participation of representatives from all over the country. In the same manner [we] will translate into practice the noble and humane aspirations of our revolution, because these aspirations are our people's aspirations which are compatible with the objective and subjective conditions of our society and requirements and needs of our time.

CSO: 4600/374

DISUNITY CALLED REBELS' CRITICAL PROBLEM

Rome IL TEMPO in Italian No 58, 7 Mar 82 p 3

[Article by Giorgio Torchia: "The Guerrilla Movement Is Without a Political Center"]

[Text] There are six groups, often fighting among themselves, who represent the insurgents at Peshawar--Some tactical advantage in the face of a decisive strategic disadvantage.

Two years after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, one thing is certain: the guerrillas who seemed destined to succumb, or at least be relegated to inaccessible border zones in the face of an army like that of the Russians, not only have not been defeated, but have put the occupying forces in a critical situation, substantially unmodified by recent counterattacks in the Kandahar region. This is rather a miracle, brought about by the many Afghan resistance forces. For if insurrectionist movements in other countries have been able to keep modern and large armies in check when they could not actually defeat them, this has been due, aside from a series of favorable political and military elements, to the fact that the guerrilla movement has been the head of a military and political center that coordinated activities and outlined objectives.

None of this in Afghanistan. There is another element that serves to point out the peculiarity of the armed struggle in this country. There is no "liberation front", to cite some examples such as the Algerian FLN or that which served as a shield for the Viet Cong in South Vietnam, or to the PAIGC of ex-Portuguese Guinea. And this situation accentuates the problems, always present in such cases, between internal resistance, that is what takes place on the battlefield, and external resistance which gives support.

There are numerous guerrilla movements with bases at Peshawar, head town of the Northwest Frontier District of Pakistan. There are six principle groups, and generally, not much love is lost between them: Three are of strict

Islamic tendency. The first is the "Hezb-e Islami" or "Islamic Group." It is associated with Gul Badeen Hekmatyar. This is the oldest of the resistance organizations. It seems to be the largest. It began the struggle in 1973 against President Daoud, who had overturned the monarchy. Yet Hekmatyar does not want a return to the monarchy, and hopes for an Islamic republic with an eye towards the Iranian experience. Then there is a second "Hezb-e Islami" directed by Mohammad Yunus Khalis, an old guerrilla who says he is an ex-teacher. It is difficult to determine great ideological differences between these two groups. The most important is the personal rivalry between the two leaders, with slightly more moderation on the part of Khalis. He seemed to look more toward Khaled of Saudi Arabia than to Khomeyni, if only for financial reasons. Moreover, with us, he attempted to deemphasize differences with other groups, chiefly the so-called lay groups, affirming that for the present, priority goes to the struggle against the invaders.

The "Jamiate Islami" of Rabanni is also part of the same strictly Islamic line (The Revolutionary Islamic Movement). Then there are three lay organizations, which, though declaring themselves Islamic, maintain that the type of government the country should have will be decided by the people once the Russians are gone. These are moderate political formations that tend to a Western line: the "Harakat-e-Inqilab Islami" (Islamic Association) of Habi Mohammadi, the Jabaha-e Najat-Milli (National Liberation Front), and the Mahaz-e Milli Islami of Seyed Ahmed Gilani, which is the principle of the three. The latter organizations have formed an alliance, substituting, in fact, the other, which united all six, and whose head was Rasul Sayyaf. This divergent front, paralyzed by contrasts, has remained chiefly on paper, with great threat to unified development of the resistance.

The conflict between people such as Gilani and Khalis is essential to understanding what they represent. The former, refined, with a short, well-trimmed beard, the face of an actor, a black tunic under which his European clothes, represent the great bourgeois Western-line Afghan. He says he is Islamic, even brags about his descent from Mohammed, but he criticizes the "fanatics," that is, rivals from the strict Islamic groups. Gilani, to whom the Americans give particular attention, says he is friendly with the deposed king, Mohammed Zahir Shah who is in exile in Rome, and who, in his opinion, continues to have a great following among the people.

Gilani does not hide the gravity of the differences with the Islamic groups. His spokesman ends up accusing one of their leaders, Hekmatyar, of being in collusion with the Soviets. Not a new fact, by the way--recently there were clashes between the "lay" mujahedin and the strict-line Islamics.

Khalis, with a long, unkempt white beard, a turban of uncertain color, wearing traditional clothing, represents an Afghan much more closely tied to the tribes and their traditions than to a modern world, be it Marxist or Western.

He too, like Gilani, brags of victory over the Russians, cites astronomical numbers of losses inflicted on the occupying forces and on those suffered by the Afghan population: 1 million dead and wounded--this seems unbelievable, even if the high price in human life paid by these people is considered. Khalis restates his Islamic beliefs, but emphasizes, with a conciliatory eye towards Gilani, the necessity of giving priority to the struggle against the Russian army. The two, shortly after their meeting with us, joined in a meeting with a Saudi prince who had come to Peshawar for a purpose. Arabia is the country that contributes most to the guerrillas.

The strict-line groups, but chiefly that of Khalis, are sustained by the Pakistani Islamic Party, the Jamiat-e Islami, very close to President Zia. The influence of the Jamiat ends with helping the activities of the "religious" guerrilla organizations that have their bases in Pakistan.

The external picture of the Mujahedin organizations is completed with the Islamic Movement of Afghanistan, led by Mohseni Qandahari, which is based in Iran. This Khomeyni-style movement is not very active in terms of armed struggle, inasmuch as it reflects the problems that the leadership group in Tehran has with Iraq and with the internal revolt of the various opposition groups.

Relations between the groups that use Peshawar as a base and the groups that operate inside the country are complex and conditioned by numerous problems. An evident osmosis exists between the two sectors, and for the combatants directly involved against the Red Army, external support is indispensable. Arms and money arrive at Peshawar, the former chiefly from Egypt which is the source of Soviet weapons, the latter, principally from Saudi Arabia. Moreover, the organization of this enormous mass of refugees and the administration of aid sent by international organizations is taken care of by the parties in Peshawar.

The impulsiveness and disorganization of the Afghan resistance also reflect the ethnic composition of the country and express some interesting new facts that will condition the future of the nation. Though it is the fulcrum of the revolt, the Pashtun majority, or Patahana, is not its exclusive and absolute leader. Other ethnic groups such as the Usbeki, the Tadjiki, the Nuristani, and above all, the Hazara (a Sciite minority of Mongolian origin that constitutes about 10 percent of the Afghan population), have shown that they are able to organize and fight alone without the tutelage of the Pashtun. In the case of the Hazara, considered a somewhat inferior race, this represents an important element of social and political emancipation.

The disadvantages on the military and political levels caused by these divisions are far greater than the advantages which seem to be in evidence. It is true that the splintering of the groups prevents the Soviets from carrying out

a surgical operation capable of depriving the insurrection of a directional center. But the lack of coordination of operations and of political representation deprives the mujahedin of a united organized strategy for the struggle, as well as of an international hearing--thus they end up playing into the hands of Kabul.

A military victory against the USSR is impossible, but the present situation of the guerrillas prevents the revolt from taking that leap which would make the situation even more dramatic than it already is for the Red Army.

The absence of a unified and responsible command, moreover, renders problematical the acquiring of more powerful arms by those who supply them. No doubt the mujahedin have brought about great progress in this field, thanks to arms captured from the enemy or handed over by Afghan deserters, or those which arrive from friendly countries--above all, from Egypt. They have a lot of automatic weapons, chiefly Kalashnikov, "Dachka" type machine guns, anti-tank weapons, such as the RPGs. But the real lack is in not having, except for a rare SAM-7, modern antiaircraft weapons, which are the only arms able to affront the principle threat to the guerrillas: helicopters. These arms have not yet arrived because there are no representatives able to give guarantees for possible supplies. But also evidently, because there is a clear intention of wanting to keep the offensive capacity of the guerrillas under control. Up to now, the mujahedin have had the indispensable, but certainly not the necessary.

In conclusion, the Afghan guerrillas, inasmuch as they lack unified structures and willingness of the countries that help them--from the United States to Pakistan, are, in their present condition, able to render the life of "Ivan" difficult. Often impossible. But they are not in a position to force the Soviet leadership to reexamine its policy in Afghanistan. The war is thus about to become endemic. With the Soviets who cannot win but cannot be defeated.

9941  
CSO: 4628/7

REBEL GROUPS DRAFT REFUGEES IN PAKISTAN

LD310616 Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0436 GMT 31 Mar 82

[Text] Kabul, 30 Mar (BAKHTAR)--The political observer of BAKHTAR News Agency writes regarding the reasons underlying the forceful conscriptions and the call up of the beguiled fugitive youth between 16 to 35 years of age by the counter-revolution and their sending to Afghanistan coercively for subversive activities after being trained for about 20 days in the soil of Pakistan.

The first reason is that the roots of counter-revolution in Afghanistan are on the verge of being dried out. Now, the time has passed for the counter-revolution to resort to subversive actions here and there by using the arms and money which are given to them by U.S. imperialism, Chinese hegemonism and the reaction of the region.

The second reason is the fact that the process of the return of the escapees to their homes has gained momentum. They come back to their homelands, repent their past misdeeds, express their solidarity with their revolutionary state. This has obliged the ringleaders of the counterrevolution to resort to new ominous actions through which to prevent their return and to force them instead to take crash military training, to arm them and send them to their own country for killing, murdering, arsoning and other misdemeanours.

The third reason for such fresh crimes is that the counterrevolutionary ranks are ever-increasingly disbanded and their members surrender themselves to the state and party authorities, lay down their arms and declare their solidarity with the revolution, people, party and the state of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

These developments in favour of the DRA have ever more confused and have worried counter-revolutionaries and they desperately wish to fill the gap through the forceful draft of the escapees youth, but these shameful and ignominious endeavours will be of no avail.

The observer of BNA calls upon the beguiled youth not to follow these mischievous bands, to return to their free and independent countries to build a prosperous society [words indistinct].

CSO: 4600/374

AFGHANISTAN

BRIEFS

PARTY CONFERENCE RESULTS--A joint seminar of ideological workers of the Fifth Party Ward of Kabul City, the 8th Infantry Division the 99th Rocketry Force, the 37th Commando Regiment and the Central Army Corps [QOL-E URDO-E Markazi] was held this morning in the city polytechnic. Jamela Palwasha, candidate member of the Central Committee and deputy head of the propaganda, popularization and training department of the PDPA Central Committee, spoke first at the meeting on the significance of the PDPA national conference, and the program of training and explaining the materials of the conference in close relations with the life of the people of Afghanistan. She drew the attention of those participating in the seminar to their historic mission in light of the resolutions and decisions of the PDPA national conference. The secretary of the Fifth Party Ward of Kabul City and political head of the 8th Infantry Division also spoke about the results of the PDPA national conference and the duties of ideological activists in propagating and explaining the conference materials among the people and the DRA armed forces. Bakhtar reports that the political head of the 99th Rocketry Force, some other Fifth Party Ward campaigners of Kabul City, and political heads also spoke at the meeting. They explained the forms and methods of their work and exchanged views in this respect. [Text] [LD012215 Kabul Domestic Service in Dari 1600 GMT 1 Apr 82]

CSO: 4665/12

MUBARAK MEETS NDP PARLIAMENTARY GROUP

March 23 Meeting

NC231754 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1630 GMT 23 Mar 82

[Excerpt] Cairo, 23 Mar (MENA)--President Husni Mubarak met this morning with members of the National Democratic Party's parliamentary body of the People's Assembly and Consultative Council in 12 governorates, one of a series of meetings which his excellency is holding with the members of the party's parliamentary group in the various governorates to explain issues pertaining to the internal and external action.

The meeting, which was held at the Central Department for Mobilization and Statistics, was attended by Prime Minister Dr Fu'ad Muhyi al-Din, People's Assembly Speaker Dr Sufi Abu Talib, Consultative Council Speaker Dr Subhi 'Abd al-Hakim, deputy prime ministers, ministers, governors of the 12 governorates and the governorates party secretaries.

Following the 4-and 1/2-hour meeting, Deputy Prime Minister for the Affairs of the People's Asembly and Consultative Council Fikri Makram 'Ubayd said that today's meeting dealt with various internal and external issues. Regarding foreign policy, the president stressed that our policy is based on two mainstays: Adherence to the peace process and adherence to national dignity.

'Ubayd said: The president explained that we are a nonaligned state, that we do not align or ally with anybody or enter into an alliance of any kind. This, however, does not prevent us from having special and distinctive relations with the United States. This is not odd because India, for example, which is one of the founders of the Nonaligned Movement, has special relations with the Soviet Union but this does not affect its nonaligned character. We are a nonaligned state and one of the founders of the Nonaligned Movement.

Regarding the current events in the West Bank, 'Ubayd said that the president explained that the government was following up what was taking place there. The president also spoke frankly and clearly about the Israeli withdrawal.

Turning to the internal policy, the president spoke about the economic conference saying that subcommittees will stem from it to study all issues deeply, in a scientific and practical way, so that we may have the best treatment [for the problem] on the basis of short or long term comprehensive planning.

Regarding the status of the public sector companies, 'Ubayd said the president stressed the need to strengthen them while maintaining the low prices of all products for the masses and of the supply goods.

'Ubayd also said that during the meeting, the president spoke about the way of practicing the political and executive action. The president, he added, stressed the need to practice this action in a scientific, practical and objective way, gradually, and not impulsively or by changing persons.

'Ubayd said the president conveyed greetings to our armed forces, which are in fact the guardian of this country's assets and of democracy. The president stressed the need to strengthen and modernize our armed forces and provide them with all means to discharge their great national role. In this regard, the president said the army is a part of the people and that it is the object of love, care and honor.

Regarding the attitude of the state toward the deviationists, 'Ubayd said that President Mubarak declared that the state has not and will not cover up for anybody, that it will not interfere with the judiciary and that every good citizen must report any deviation or lawbreaking act to the quarters concerned.

'Ubayd added that the president spoke about the workers in the factories. He explained that anyone working in our factories is an Egyptian and a patriot working under the Egyptian flag and that the parties must practice their activities outside the factories as stipulated by the law.

'Ubayd pointed out that the president and the members spoke about the activities of the foreign and local banks and that it has been agreed to reassess their activities without harming them or their legal status or position. It has been decided not to permit the establishment of foreign banks in the future and to reassess the position of the existing ones on the basis of past experience. The president emphasized that all banks, investment companies and all those who benefit from law Number 43 are the subject of care and protection by the state and that no harm will ever befall any of them.

#### Additional Remarks

NC232041 Cairo Domestic Service in Arabic 1830 GMT 23 Mar 82

[Text] President Muhammad Husni Mubarak today met with the National Democratic Party parliamentary group. In his answers to the members' questions on Egypt's foreign policy, the president said that Egypt is a nonaligned state and has special relations with the United States in all military and economic fields. He added that this does not contradict with Egypt's principal role as a founding state of the Nonaligned Movement nor does this allow it to enter into military alliances or to establish military bases on its territory.

The president emphasized that the peace process is continuing and that the effort that will be required following the restoration of the [Sinai] territory is apt to achieve total peace in the area.

Replying to a question about Egypt's domestic policy after 24 April, the president said that Egypt is continuing with its policy to resolve our major internal problems affecting all fields of construction, living conditions and the broad base of our people. Our problems are not solved by changing persons, since this matter does not involve dates but involves the aptitude of every official. However, the change that we seek is that of the methods and action to tackle problems and to make comprehensive scientific plans for the future as well as the method of internal action.

The president said: We must be realistic and not live under illusions because our battle after 25 April shall be the resolution of our people's problems. With regard to the role of the armed forces, the president said that the armed forces are Egypt's shield and the protectors of its destiny and of all its people's economic and social aspirations and gains as well as of its freedom and democracy. Egypt's intrinsic power shall continue to stem from the ability of its armed forces to which it will give every care.

On the expected changes in the National Democratic Party cadres, the president said that changes in the party cadres will be to give the opportunity to the leaders at various levels to perform their party role in a better manner that is commensurate with the majority party and its duty to lead the work of the masses and consolidate the democratic practice.

Replying to a question on the establishment of party units in the production units, the president said that whoever works in a productive unit is Egyptian and production is for the sake of Egypt. Therefore, in our work, we are under the Egyptian flag. As for the party activity, its place is in the parties' centers and circles.

On the economic issue, the president said that the committees stemming from the economic conference will begin their work in two days time so as to work out comprehensive plans and set priorities. We must understand that there is a deficit in the budget and, therefore, the government, the public sector, the private sector and individuals must confront this matter seriously. Increasing production is the basic challenge, because our success in resolving the economic problem entails solutions to numerous problems, particularly those of wages and prices.

The president emphasized that the subsidy for bread or the basic food supplies that affect the broad base of the masses will not be tampered with. The president then dealt with problems pertaining to the ownership of the desert land in remote areas as well as the problems facing the projects which are being implemented in accordance with the investments law. The president affirmed that the development of the Egyptian villages is the responsibility of the local governments in the governorates and not that of the central government. He said that the carrying out of responsibilities is the criterion for appraising success in this field.

CSO: 4500/133

MUBARAK INTERVIEW WITH QATARI NEWSPAPER

GF251640 Doha AL-RAYAH in Arabic 24 Mar 82 pp 4, 5

[Interview granted by Egyptian President Husni Mubarak to AL-RAYAH chief editor Nasir Muhammad al-'Uthman and managing editor Salah al-Dina Hafiz at the president's office in Cairo on 21 March 1982]

[Text] AL-RAYAH: Your excellency, it is customary that journalists ask first about the event of the hour but we will break tradition and ask President Husni Mubarak about Husni Mubarak the human being--how his first political steps and ideological concepts began, how he emerged from the October war as one of its heroes, and your relationship with late leader Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir, your experience in the military service and then the difference between this service and serving in political life.

President Mubarak: This question requires an entire book. I want to tell you that my dealings with late President Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir were not exactly a relationship. I was an officer in the armed forces and he was a revolutionary leader and, at that time, he was the leader of the nation who effected many changes in the region. But I did work with the late President Anwar al-Sadat, and thus it is on this basis that one can see both positive and negative practices and attempt to avoid the negative ones and correct them, attempt to correct the negative practices and proceed with the positive ones. And this does not mean a different line.

In the October war--I am not going to talk about myself; I don't like to talk about myself; neither do I like to talk about these issues--I was the commander of the air force. Praise be to God, we did fight in 1973 and exerted our maximum effort. Then it was fated that I was appointed vice president of the republic. And it was my fate to be elected president of the republic following the assassination of President Anwar al-Sadat. It is fate and circumstances which brought me to this place. Of course, there is a difference between military life and civilian life. The latter is totally different from the style of military life.

AL-RAYAH: The overwhelming majority of the Arab peoples feel that the era of alienation and discord with Egypt is about to end. Optimism is now the prevalent tone in order to restore comprehensive Arab solidarity particularly following your well-guided step of halting all attacks on the Arabs and even in

view of leaking information about secret contacts with many Arab capitals. What is your evaluation of all this? What is your plan for Arab reconciliation? How can true solidarity be achieved and where must we really begin?

President Mubarak: Like all your questions, this is a compound question. Each question requires a book. In fact, it is my principle--and this goes back to the days of late President Anwar al-Sadat--that we must not attack the Arabs, but due to certain circumstances this happened. Why? He [al-Sadat] used to receive certain information and other things, God knows best. I don't wish to talk about this. However, I found that it is better--and this is our method--not to attack our Arab brothers, not to attack anyone, even those who abuse us, whether Arab or non-Arab. Although we don't abuse them or talk about them, many states abuse us. Never mind! Egypt is Egypt. We deal through our values and principles, which we shall never change and which no one can change.

Concerning the leakage of reports about secret contacts, I speak the truth: There are no secret contacts. If there were any, I would certainly mention them. All my contacts are in the open--with His Majesty Sultan Qabus of Oman and His Excellency President Ja'far Numary of Sudan. I contact them and exchange opinions with them on various issues.

Concerning the resumption of contacts with the Arabs, I don't intervene in the affairs of any Arab state but say that our doors are open. Our Arab brothers adopted resolutions during the Baghdad conference. I cannot talk about this issue but leave the door open to all circumstances. When the Arab states find the circumstances appropriate, we welcome them.

We do have relations with Israel. We sacrificed a lot. There are diplomatic relations that we cannot sever. We welcome any return on this basis. We offered much, suffered much and sacrificed much. This is our clear stand and we welcome our Arab brothers when they decide it is the appropriate time to come.

By Allah, I hope that Arab solidarity can be achieved because the Arab world today is as you see it. I believe that Arab solidarity has never existed except during the October war.

AL-RAYAH: Indeed, that was the highest degree of solidarity.

President: Our stand now--and I am sorry for the Arab stand with regard to Egypt and the circumstances with the Arab states--[is that] the current situation is saddening. I don't wish to proceed, talk much or expose anyone. You are better acquainted than I with the current Arab situation.

AL-RAYAH: Your excellency, how can we overcome this situation?

President: The process is difficult because there are differences of opinion and one must not consider only himself. As long as everyone is considering only himself, we shall never reach Arab solidarity. No one can impose his will upon others. If we continue to be so, the Arabs will never unite.

AL-RAYAH: Your excellency, it was said that during your visit to Oman Sultan Qabus was reconciling views between you and the GCC states or that he was mediating to normalize relations. How true is this?

President: This could have been an initiative from his majesty the sultan, but we did not talk about a mediation or anything of the sort. I believe that if the sultan did anything it would be inspired by Arab motives, but we did not agree on anything in particular because I don't wish to intervene and I don't wish to impose anything on anyone. Let us leave all this to circumstances that may suit our Arab brothers. I cannot say more than that. I welcome them all. Whether we accept it or not, Egypt is the refuge of every Arab. Whoever wants to come is welcome; it is his second country. Anytime we come to Egypt it will welcome him. Even at times of alienation we never boycotted the Arabs or prevented them. We cannot prevent them from entering Egypt because we consider it their own country.

AL-RAYAH: In fact, your excellency, many statements by Arab League Secretary General Chedli Klibi and by a number of officials in some Arab capitals too said that the postponement of Fes conference until after the Israeli withdrawal on 25 April might help bring Egypt's flag back to flutter at the summit meeting. What is your opinion?

President: We must be truthful with ourselves. How can Egypt attend an Arab summit conference while a common ground does not exist? Disunity exists and relations are still severed, so how can Egypt go? There must be a common ground in order for Egypt to go and contribute. It is not all that simple. Egypt will not go to see someone stand up and attack it. Egypt does not like to attack anyone and will not allow itself to be attacked by anyone. There has to be a common ground for us to go to the summit.

AL-RAYAH: Perhaps, your excellency, Arab public opinion expects this common ground to form and the opportunity to arise after Egypt regains Sinai on 25 April. The situation will then become more appropriate and prepared for solidarity and restoring relations.

President: Yes. Some of our brothers say Egypt will return under certain conditions. We don't accept the word "conditions." We know where we stand and we know what we are doing. It was once said in one of the states--and I don't want to mention names--that when Egypt returns to Arab ranks it will abrogate the Camp David agreements and whatever is related to them. What does this mean? Does it mean I should give Sinai back to Israel, give the oil back to it and close the Suez Canal?

Abrogating Camp David would mean that all related issues are gone, including the autonomy talks. I want to tell the one that says such things that he does not want the question to be resolved.

Following all the talk and bitter sacrifices that we made to reach what we have reached, we are expected to cancel all that with a pen stroke and then sit down. After Egypt abrogates Camp David and all matters related to it, we shall see our land reoccupied. What logic is this? What sensible person would approve this?

Does it mean going back to war? That is impossible. We have chosen peace and have gone through negotiations. War has never solved a problem. Take the United States and Vietnam. It preferred to fight. Did war solve the problem? Never. They sat down at a table to negotiate. Let us be realistic and live in reality. Let us think of what to do on the basis of reality. We must not say abrogate Camp David and all matters related to it. What does this mean? And this decision is up to us.

Furthermore, we say that our relations with Israel may be very useful. When there are problems between Israel and any Arab state, we can talk, mediate and convey views and we can also ease the tension. You want us to continue alienation. Good. What next? And what comes after this long march we have made?

I don't believe that a single Egyptian could agree on such a thing.

AL-RAYAH: Your excellency, in spite of all the gains Egypt has made from the peace process, there is still an Arab belief that Israel does not want peace. What is your opinion on this? Israel does not see that peace is in its interests, and there are those who say that the peace process to Israel in the long run is like war.

President: Listen to a theory that we have long been suggesting. We used to say it in Egypt for some time and even before the October war. But frankly this is useless. Let us be frank with ourselves. If Israel did not want peace, we could not achieve it. A state in such circumstances suspects everything, even that we shall do something after April.

A state that is surrounded by all the Arab states with everyone hiding in ambush for it will naturally be suspicious. If we were in its place, we would be suspicious too. We deceive ourselves. It is not true that peace will kill Israel. Nothing of this is true. Israel exists and is secured by the two superpowers. Will we be able to demolish it?

We want to live in reality and be frank with ourselves. We must not chase slogans in order not to lose everything. The only way before us is negotiation. All right, what have our Arab brothers done since the talks and the peace process began? They abused Egypt. They also abused Egypt after Camp David. None has made any effort with the friendly states in order to find a solution. All efforts were abuse for Egypt. Is abusing Egypt a solution?

We must be realistic and frank. We have sacrificed much and exerted much effort in the peace process. We sacrificed wealth and souls for peace.

AL-RAYAH: Your excellency just mentioned an expression that is considered to be a new political expression. You said that Egypt is considered an altruistic or dialoguing party. Does this mean Egypt will intensify efforts after 25 April in order to achieve comprehensive peace, especially since a number of initiatives have been proposed such as the Saudi initiative?

President: Let us say something to you. Resolution 242 was issued. Then resolution 338 and many resolutions from international organizations were issued too. Did Israel implement any of them? None. The only thing it

implemented and committed itself to was the framework of Camp David. No one could make it move without its agreement. Who will force Israel to accept Prince Fahd's initiatives? As long as it has not agreed on it, the initiative will not be implemented.

AL-RAYAH: Not even through U.S. pressure?

President: U.S. pressure? There we are. If Israel did not agree on the initiative, it will not be implemented and we have clear evidence before us. The entire world pressured it to implement resolution 242 but it did nothing. The only proof we have before us is the framework of Camp David because there is a commitment in it and without this commitment Israel can do nothing.

AL-RAYAH: The first part of Camp David is the Egyptian-Israeli part and the second part pertains....

President: It concerns the Palestinians and the autonomy talks with which we are proceeding.

AL-RAYAH: But, Mr President, do you think Israel is convinced now of proceeding with the autonomy negotiations according to the Egyptian viewpoint?

President: We want to reach a declaration of principles, but nobody wants to help us. We get only complications. The Golan issue is getting complicated. Nobody wants to look for solutions. Nevertheless, negotiations on autonomy are still in progress and we will continue these negotiations.

AL-RAYAH: But these negotiations are faltering for the time being.

President: We know that the Israelis are "hard" negotiators but we should reach a declaration of principles. It's necessary. Even if it takes 3, 4, 5 or 6 months, we will certainly reach a solution.

AL-RAYAH: Is there a specified time or not?

President: No, there isn't a specified period of time yet because this is the most difficult part of the problem, the essence. We, the Arabs, have been saying no to everything since 1948 until we reached the present situation. Will we say no again after we have arrived [at something]?

AL-RAYAH: Egyptian-PLO relations, close in the past, were severed after Camp David. The PLO is waiting for a new stand from you which would decide your policy on the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and would renew your commitment to these rights. What do you say to the PLO?

President: I really do not see anything new. Who changed the Palestinian cause from a cause of refugees into a cause of people? Was it anyone else but Egypt? Has anyone revived this cause throughout the world except Egypt? Were not the war and all our problems for the sake of the Palestinian cause? All the disagreements between the Arabs and us, aren't they for the sake of the Palestinian cause? All the sacrifices, the October war and 50 billion Egyptian pounds we spent on the cause--what for?

If these things had been for our land only, we could have restored it and reached an agreement long ago. What else do you want us to do? The autonomy negotiations, aren't they for the Palestinian cause? We work only for the cause. Tell me who is helping us on the cause.

I do not like to talk about our Palestinian brothers. We are talking about the Palestinian cause and the whole problem of ours is the Palestinian cause. We have sacrificed a great deal for the Palestinian cause. What clear line are you talking about after all? Is there any clearer line than that?

AL-RAYAH: Contacts are said to have taken place between the PLO and you recently. What is the nature of these contacts?

President: No contacts have been established between us. Yasir 'Arafat is still insulting us. I really don't understand.

AL-RAYAH: But Yasir 'Arafat has praised you, Mr President!

President: One day he praises and the next he insults. He said they hope the Egyptian Army and people will change the regime. Aren't we going to stop outbidding? Was it not outbidding that caused us this catastrophe?

AL-RAYAH: Mr President, there are reports that your upcoming visit to Israel will be on 25 April as the United States has suggested. Is that true?

President: Nobody suggested anything at all to us.

AL-RAYAH: What is your stand on this visit now?

President: Nothing. The stand now is that the visit date is unsuitable. However, a visit to Israel will take place on a date we agree on later.

AL-RAYAH: Will the date be after 25 April, for instance?

President: That's a strong possibility.

AL-RAYAH: And what about the visit to Jerusalem?

President: This is a matter of contention between Israel and us.

AL-RAYAH: In fact, this is a matter of principle. Your stand is appreciated by all countries and trends. By the way, you have convened the National Security Council to discuss problems relating to Israel and particularly the border and autonomy issues.

President: We have dealt with the entire situation and discussed all developments comprehensively, including disagreements over the border issue and the future of relations. We have discussed all these matters in the National Security Council.

AL-RAYAH: Some say the date of the Israeli withdrawal, 25 April is in danger due to the aggravation of Israeli-Egyptian relations. What is your opinion?

President: This means the matter is not that aggravated. The media always exaggerate everything.

AL-RAYAH: With a purpose, of course.

President: With or without a purpose, the media exaggerate the matter. But I don't believe the withdrawal will be delayed.

AL-RAYAH: What is your opinion and evaluation of the GCC and its future role in enriching Arab solidarity and in protecting the Gulf from foreign interference?

President: This matter is up to the GCC and I am not the one to ask about it. They themselves should decide whatever they want. They know their facilities and capabilities better than I.

AL-RAYAH: But Egypt is the eldest brother.

President: I haven't attended anything at the GCC and I do not know all the facts. Therefore, I cannot talk about it. Thus I am excused from talking on that subject.

AL-RAYAH: It seems that Libya is about to have several problems with the United States following the Gulf of Sidra incident, the U.S. oil boycott and the anti-Libya international campaign. Meanwhile, you have ordered the situation on the border downplayed. Therefore, what events are we to expect between Libya and the United States in western Egypt, and what is the present situation between Libya and Egypt?

President: Nothing.

AL-RAYAH: Nothing? You mean the situation is calm?

President: Nothing new. Only when I was visiting Europe and the United States they sent 26 Egyptian families across the border. I wondered about the timing of the procedure while I was abroad. This matter was broached during the era of the late president when they requested that Egyptians cross the border by land instead of detouring. However, I was surprised, while in France, to be told that 26 families were in wagons at the border. Of course, I couldn't tell them to return. Only this. But open the border? No. Anyhow, this was not repeated and I didn't want to exaggerate the matter.

AL-RAYAH: But we believe the situation is much calmer than before.

President: Calmer, because we will not fight with an Arab country and because our land will not be used against any Arab country. They themselves have shouted the slogan that the Americans will strike Libya from Egyptian airspace. This subject has not been mentioned, nor have we discussed it or had

anyone tell us about it. It is only a matter of people creating a rumor to cause trouble. The United States hasn't told us about it. I do not know who hatches these false rumors.

AL-RAYAH: Tomorrow's Egypt--this is the slogan of the day. How do you envisage tomorrow's Egypt on the domestic, Arab and international levels?

President: We are having a conference on tomorrow's Egypt, so leave this to the conference which will tell about it.

AL-RAYAH: Your hopes for Egypt, Mr President.

President: I want peace to prevail in the entire region. I always hope that after we will have peace in the region we will strengthen our relations with all peace-loving countries, Arab or non-Arab.

AL-RAYAH: What about domestic problems?

President: The newspapers write about the domestic situation daily. Our problem is economic. If I talk about it they will say he will take, twist and turn the economy toward the east. I am not turning the economy toward the east at all. We are only orienting the matter and orienting the openness issue. So, instead of a consumptive, importing openness, we are creating a productive openness. Our public sector is a public sector and a fundamental basis in this country. Our line will not change. We are only orienting the process.

AL-RAYAH: What about Arab investments in Egypt?

President: We haven't ever closed the doors to any Arab investments. There are many Arab brothers still working [in Egypt] now. Sometimes it slows and sometimes it prospers. However, this is left to the psychological state of the Arab brothers.

AL-RAYAH: A proposition has appeared in the newspapers, and specifically in the daily editorial of Prof Ahmad Baha' al-Din, to hold a special conference to discuss and encourage Arab investors and solve their problems. Why does not Cairo sponsor such a conference officially?

President: Never mind. We hold conferences with any investor. Out of priority, we hold such conferences with our Arab brothers. We do not obstruct our Arab brothers at all.

We welcome any investment, for example, such as the cultivation of land according to the country's laws. We have great projects. Look at land cultivation in al-Nubariyah and al-Salihiyah as well as on the Cario-Alexandria highway and in al-Isma'iliyah. Praise be to Allah, all these projects provide maximum production. Today al-Salihiyah exports its agricultural products. A fantastic accomplishment! You must visit al-Salihiyah. You will be astonished. It is a huge project that is completely mechanized. It is irrigated through the most modern showering techniques. All its agricultural processes

are mechanized. The land is vast and its soil is virgin. It produces great amount of vegetables and citrus fruit. You must visit this project and see the new society.

AL-RAYAH: Your excellency, you stressed more than once that Egypt is a non-aligned state and in fact this stirred...

President (interrupting): It stirred questions?

AL-RAYAH: Not questions. It stirred a resurgence in the nonaligned movement in that Egypt may once again resume its leading role.

President: Egypt has always been a nonaligned state, whether during the era of President 'Abd al-Nasir or the era of President al-Sadat. We are one of the founders of nonalignment and we always attend its conferences. However, I want to say that we have special relations with the United States, economic and military relations. We preserve these relations and bolster them.

India is one of the founders of nonalignment and also has special relations with the Soviet Union, economic, military and all types of relations. What prevents us from being a nonaligned state that has strong relations with the United States? I must search out my country's interests. However, we don't enter alliances, neither Eastern nor Western.

AL-RAYAH: What about the military facilities for the United States? Are they continuing?

President: President al-Sadat granted these facilities and we see to it that these can be used if something happens to an Arab or Islamic state. But we don't grant bases for someone to settle in them forever. The matter has been clear since the time of President al-Sadat and I told them so clearly in the United States.

AL-RAYAH: Your excellency, a final question: Would you like to address the Qatari people and the peoples of the Gulf through AL-RAYAH?

President: With my complete appreciation for Qatar, its government and people, I wish them all security, peace and progress.

AL-RAYAH: Thank you, your excellency, for your forbearance with our questions and may Allah help you and always guide you to success.

CSO: 4500/137

AL-TALMASANI DISCUSSES HISTORY, POLITICS OF MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD

Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic No 2989, 22 Jan 82 pp 14-19, 74-77

[Interview with Shaykh 'Umar al-Talmasani by AL-MUSAWWAR: "The Free Officers Concealed Their Weapons With the Brothers: It Was 'Abd-al-Nasir Who Designed the Hiding Places for the Weapons"; date and place not specified]

/Text/ It was essential to hold this long conversation with Shaykh 'Umar al-Talmasani.

The conversation started late in the morning, stopped for the noon prayer and ended, because of extreme exhaustion, a few minutes before the evening prayer.

The seriousness of this interview is due to a fact over which there is no dispute: that is that the incidents of violence that have recently been knocking on the door of Egyptian society, in the Military Technical /College/ episode, the assassination of Shaykh al-Dhababi, and the assassination of President Anwar al-Sadat--all of these incidents of violence emerged from the aegis of the Moslem Brothers and came out from behind the prison walls of the sixties.

Shaykh 'Umar al-Talmasani, on some occasions, describes himself as just a lawyer. However, when we call things by their real names, the man considers himself the general guide of the Society of Moslem Brothers, the most important religious society in Egypt's history and in the entire 20th century.

Shaykh 'Umar al-Talmasani has been living testimony. He is a man who has participated in fashioning events. In the first moments of the conversation he said, "I am not a scholar, philosopher or thinker; what I am offering is just a testimony to the everyday reality of life."

When besieged with questions, he said most clearly, "Not everything that is known is said, and the time has not come for everything that is known to be said." He replied to many questions about events and people by saying that he did not know about the matter specifically.

Nonetheless al-Talmasani did answer important, serious questions:

Why were the Brothers concerned to have a special secret organization? What was this agency's relationship to the assassinations which have taken place in Egyptian history, from Ahmad Mahir to al-Sadat?

What prompted the clash between the Brothers and the ruling authorities in Egypt in 1948, 1954 and 1955?

What were the Brothers' relations with Faruq and the political parties and their relations with the Free Officers' Movement, the 23 July Revolution and 'Abd-al-Nasir specifically?

Why the violence which appeared recently, and has emerged from the aegis of the Moslem Brothers?

These questions came up during the discussion and 'Umar al-Talmasani answered them with a frightening bluntness which will make the reader pause.

Here he talked about Abu-al-A'la al-Mawdudi's Islamic state, Shukri Mustafa's "Close Examinations," Sayyid Qutb's "Signposts along the Road" and al-Hudaybi's "Proselytizers, Not Judges."

'Umar al-Talmasani speaks his mind bluntly on facial and body veils, and factional strife. He does not approve of what is happening in Khomeyni's Iran. Nor is he disturbed by Pope Shannudah's emergence from isolation. He talks about the story of Rashad 'Uthman and one of the commanders of the violent groups to whom the government gave 150 feddans in Liberation Province and a mansion in al-Sayyidah Zaynab.

What is 'Umar al-Talmasani's relationship with Anwar al-Sadat and what does he say about the Mubarak era and what he witnessed in prison?

These are the details of this provocative, crucial conversation:

AL-MUSAWWAR: Before now, this chamber witnessed a conversation with the Labor Party and another one with the Grouping Party. It also witnessed numerous conversations with independent personalities who took opposition stands.

The basic rule in AL-MUSAWWAR's dialogue is that it take place with freedom on both sides' part; its goal is the truth and the presentation of real viewpoints.

We tell Mr al-Talmasani that the questions might deal with things that on the surface seem embarrassing, but we believe that without a joint effort they will remain important but unknown, concealed facts.

Our first question is, who is 'Umar al-Talmasani? What has your position on the Moslem Brothers' movement been? What is your position on it now?

Al-Talmasani: It would be good for me to introduce myself, because my upbringing and studies were one of the biggest factors that guided me to work in the Islamic field. When I was 10 years of age I heard about the names of ibn Taymiyah and Ibn al-Jawzi, because my grandfather, may God have mercy on him, was a member of the al-Salafiyah movement and subscribed to the opinions of Imam Muhammad ibn 'Abd-al-Wahhab. I memorized the Koran at an early age. In my studies in the Faculty of Law I always got high marks in the studies of Islamic law, and when I went out into the market I decided to work as a lawyer. Although I could have

worked in the office of the public prosecutor or the judiciary I nonetheless refused, because, by my nature, I am not disposed to put trust in anything that is not moral or religious. In 1933 some Brothers visited me and suggested that I join the Society of Moslem Brothers. I met the martyred imam, Hasan al-Banna, and pledged to work for the sake of this calling.

On this occasion I find it obligatory to say that the word "pledge," around which a great deal of controversy, and perhaps even doubt, revolves on the part of people who want to distort it, should not cause people to feel afraid or to join with one another, because almighty glorious God says:

"The people who make a pledge to you are making a pledge to God:  
God's hand is above theirs."

When a Moslem Brother pledges loyalty to the head of the society, he is not making a pledge to a person specifically--he is making a pledge to almighty glorious God to be loyal and sincere in the work in which he wants to take part.

AL-MUSAWWAR: What is the formula for the Brothers' pledge to the imam?

Al-Talmasani: "I swear by almighty God to work out of sincere devotion to almighty glorious God in this society, obeying its commander on pleasant and odious matters, on what I love and what I find repugnant, except in the case of disobedience." The prophet of God, on whom be God's prayers and peace, says "There is to be no obedience toward any creature in any matter regarding disobedience to the creator."

From that time, I took part in this society, shared with the Brothers in their griefs and joys, and shared with them in their mistakes and their good deeds. I do not disavow responsibility for any of this.

In 1965, during the Brothers' ordeal, some people asked me, "You are a man of peace--what makes you stay in this society which they are levelling many charges against?"

I told them, "I entered this society to work for almighty glorious God, and have had no goal except that. If this society errs or acts correctly and matters bring it to a crisis which infringes on its members from all angles, it is not morally proper for a person to withdraw at a time of danger from a society in which he has taken part in all activities. It is my fate to bear responsibility for all the good and bad things that occur to this society."

AL-MUSAWWAR: What is your position on the Moslem Brothers' Organization now?

Al-Talmasani: I was a member of the Guidance Bureau from the day I entered until the society was broken up in 1954 by decree of the Revolutionary Council.

The Brothers Are Not a Party

AL-MUSAWWAR: How do you explain the Moslem Brothers' insistence as a group or religious body on establishing their own special secret agency?

To that one might add what the Moslem Brothers themselves have written concerning this period, which emphasizes that we are confronted with a political party that is distinct from the other political parties in that it has its own special secret agency, although the Brothers disclaim that.

Al-Talmasani: With all due respect to the question, I do not go along with it. We are not a party, we are an Islamic body.

AL-MUSAWWAR: What need does an Islamic body have for a special organization at an early period of its development? The growth of the organization was almost parallel with the growth of the society.

Al-Talmasani: We refused to be a party because parties have a specific style of action and because parties have programs which they try as much as they can to apply. We do not have a program or a platform, because we devoutly believe in God's book and the sayings and doings of the prophet, may God's prayers and peace be upon him, is our platform. For this reason, and because we do not approve of the methods parties adopt in order to arrive at their goals, among them control of government--we have not contented ourselves with being a party, because we follow a style that is devoid of all personal goals. What we are content with is to have anyone from any party come to apply God's Islamic law; we will follow him and not oppose him. We are not anxious that the chief of state belong to the Moslem Brothers; as long as he follows God's book and the sayings and doings of his prophet, we will be his soldiers. This is what has kept us from becoming a party, because we know how parties interact and how they follow the different roads we do not endorse in order to get into parliament.

The emergence of the special organization did not come about early; rather, that happened in the forties.

If we go back a little bit into the events of these years, there was the Palestine War. It has been binding on every Moslem, if the territory of Moslems is trodden underfoot by foreigners, for everyone to go out in a holy war, men and women, women without permission from their husbands, and slaves without permission from their masters. We saw how the Islamic governments shirked the defense of Palestine, and the notion of establishing the special organization then arose.

If you go back into the hideaway and Jeep cases, and the pictures and reports that were seized in the course of those, you will see that that all had Palestine as its aim, not fighting the Egyptian government. Our principle, in which we believe in devoutly, is that only the country's enemies will ever benefit from any clash between the ruler and the ruled. That does not mean that we deny that errors took place among the Brothers and in the special organization.

AL-MUSAWWAR: However, we saw early on that 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Sanadi, who was head of the secret agency, managed, through the power of the agency, even to become the peer of Mr al-Banna.

Al-Talmasani: When 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Sanadi, may God have mercy on him, felt his strength and authority, he would on some occasions act in ways that the imam did

not approve of. That sort of thing is not restricted to the Moslem Brothers--in every party and every body, some members will act in ways which the office of the head of that party might not approve of. The Moslem Brothers bore all the burdens that came subsequently. Therefore, when the martyred imam was requested, in the days of al-Nuqrashi Pasha, may God have mercy on him, to issue a statement condemning what had happened, the imam was most ready to do so. A statement was issued in the papers under the title "This Is a Statement to the People," with another titled "They are Neither Moslems Nor Brothers."

We do not adhere to or defend error, and I do not think that any party would be content to have its young people sitting about laxly in a state of indolence and self-gratification. Indeed, the whole truth is that it is the party's duty to bring up its young people in self-exertion, chastity, integrity and sincerity. Isn't that better than the compliance we see among the young people of this generation? What is worse than compliance?

#### The Special Organization and Its Goals

AL-MUSAWWAR: So you consider that the special organization was aimed at the foreign presence in Egypt or Palestine and was not aimed at the Egyptian government itself, because you do not believe in violence in confronting the existing authorities. However, what is astonishing about this organization, on top of its early emergence, is that 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Sanadi managed, also at an early point, to assert his independence through the agency, indeed to deal with the imam as a peer through the strength of his special agency and to use the agency to serve his personal ambitions. So how could an Islamic society have a secret organization endorsing violence as a technique? What is the lesson to be drawn in this matter?

Al-Talmasani: The organization was not established basically for the sake of violence but to bring young people up in a serious manner. I do not deny that some mistakes took place. However, I would like to draw attention to the fact that many of the cases which occurred were trumped up and false, and all the people who were indicted in them were acquitted. That is proof that the Brothers sought recourse in a serious program of upbringing, not in the quest for violence of to achieve violence but because they wanted to establish a serious generation, which we are in serious need of, especially nowadays.

This generation which we see now has not come up with anything good and will never bring about a solution to any crisis.

The governments that existed since the revolution considered that conscription should be compulsory, so that they could conscript all young people. That means that they were convinced that young people should acquire experience in a type of military life so that they could do what was asked of them when the need for that arose. If we were ahead of the governments in giving our young people a serious proper upbringing, we were not mistaken, and we did not have violence as our goal. The proof is that in his last speech, the late President Anwar al-Sadat said "I know that 'Umar is a man of peace." That means that we are calling for peace openly and covertly.

AL-MUSAWWAR: Let us go back to the relationship between Imam al-Banna and al-Sanadi. We have an example backed by proof, an account by Salah Shadi, who was a member of the agency. I believe that Salah Shadi knew a great deal and was a part of this organization.

Al-Talmasani: Perhaps the fact that the imam's relations with 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Sanadi reached this level, or the level of equality of status, is the best proof that the leadership of the Moslem Brothers was as far removed as possible from violence, because, had it been violent or called for violence, an agreement would have been reached between Imam al-Banna and 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Sanadi on working through the same approach. The fact that 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Sanadi reached a level of parity with Imam al-Banna does not detract from Mr al-Banna or put a blemish on the Moslem Brothers. Rather, it is a matter of a person who had been brought by power to the point where he raised himself to the level of the leader of the society. This man was led astray by power and was led astray by the devil; when the head of the society was displeased with that, a dispute broke out between the two of them.

Were there Two Pledges, One Open and One Secret?

AL-MUSAWWAR: Why were there two pledges, one to the imam and one to the special organization? I believe that the special organization's pledge was hedged about with violence. Salah Shadi speaks about the pledge to al-Sanadi, which took place in a dark room with an oath on a pistol.

Al-Talmasani: What I do know is that I gave a pledge of loyalty to the martyred Imam al-Banna; I do not know anything about a pledge to the secret organization.

AL-MUSAWWAR: Why didn't Imam al-Banna fire 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Sanadi and why did he leave him alone until his power spread and he became a threat to the society?

Al-Talmasani: The power of anyone in any society grows and increases day by day. His danger may not be recognized until the ultimate point is reached, which is what happened. You are passing judgment on things you have read about, namely the weapons that were seized in the Brothers' possession in the days of President Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir. There is another story behind those weapons. When the Cairo fire broke out and the Free Officers felt they were being subjected to investigation, they turned to the Moslem Brothers to smuggle out the weapons that were in their homes, which were army weapons. They sought the aid of the Moslem Brothers. Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir himself made the design for the cement hiding places where the arms were put, and he knew about them. When problems arose between 'Abd-al-Nasir and the Brothers, he said that he had come upon the Brothers' arms storehouses, which were enough to blow Cairo up ten times over.

The agency emerged to resist the foreign presence, then deviated from the path. Had the governments believed that we had erred and adopted an attitude of dealing properly with us and negotiated with us instead of torturing us, perhaps the situation would be different now from what it is. You cannot imagine what happened to us in the prisons of Egypt. It is something that would make a newborn babe turn white with age out of terror.

AL-MUSAWWAR: We are still wondering about the basic question, which is why the Moslem Brothers, alone among political parties, were insistent on having a special agency.

Al-Talmasani: We were not. From the day the society was broken up in 1954 I have not seen one.

There were young people who were being prepared to defend the nation and the Islamic religion only.

AL-MUSAWWAR: Did the Society of Moslem Brothers as a whole know anything about 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Sanadi and the special organization?

Al-Talmasani: I have been a member of the Guidance Bureau since the forties and I have not been able to know all the Moslem Brothers. I was asked, in the Ministry of the Interior, "Do you know so and so?" I said, "I don't," and I was telling the truth. Officials in the society were known to millions, but the official was not responsible for knowing millions.

AL-MUSAWWAR: Even in your position in the Guidance Bureau, you did not know that there was a special organization?

Al-Talmasani: I did not follow the Brothers enough to know.

#### The First Meeting with Al-Sadat

AL-MUSAWWAR: When did you get to know President al-Sadat for the first time?

Al-Talmasani: That was in the evening of 27 Ramad'an 1979, the first time I saw him and talked with him. Mansur Hasan summoned me and insisted that I attend this meeting. I refused for 2 hours and told him "We are in the month of Ramadan, so permit me not to go." However, he would not let me be until I agreed to attend the meeting.

After that, I determined that it was urgently desired that I attend this meeting, because, when I got there, I sat down in the back row, and then someone brought me from the back row to the front, in a seat facing President al-Sadat.

Al-Sadat started attacking the Moslem Brothers, saying "Isn't that so, 'Umar?"

When the attack intensified, I told him, "I would like to reply to what you are saying." He said, "When I am finished." When he was finished, I replied to him.

I told him, "If anyone besides you had said that, I would have complained to you about him, but I can complain about you only to God, the greatest of rulers." He told me, "I did not mean to calumnify Mr 'Umar." He asked me to withdraw the complaint. I said, "I have raised it to the greatest of rulers."

The second time was after that. It was a special meeting at the al-Khayriyah Barrage. At that meeting he attributed traits to me that embarrassed me. He

offered me membership in the Consultative Assembly, and I declined. More than that, he told me that he had ordered that the news of the meeting be published. I rejected that, saying "People will accuse me of giving you convincing support and will say that my opposition to you is lacking in violence and intensity. When you tell them that you have met me, they will say that you have put me in your pocket."

AL-MUSAWWAR: Why didn't you agree to become a member of the Consultative Assembly? It would have been possible for you to state your opinions clearly through legitimate channels.

Al-Talmasani: What I saw and witnessed made me decline.

AL-MUSAWWAR: The Moslem Brothers have gone through three successive clashes, the clash of 1948, the clash of 1954 and the clash of 1965. What were the mistakes on the Brothers' Part, what were the mistakes on the government's part, and what are your justifications?

Al-Talmasani: What I know, and what has almost been set down as fact, is that revolutions always take a secret form. What I know is that Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir and some members of the Revolutionary Council made a compact with some members of the Brothers, in the presence of Imam al-Banna, that if they took power they would apply God's law. What we learned since is that the late Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir was in contact with all other parties. He was in contact with the Wafd, the Constitutionists, the Brothers, all the bodies. Perhaps his contact with the Brothers took this form. When the revolution was launched and succeeded, the Moslem Brothers played a part in protecting public installations and departments such as the electricity.

We were completely loyal, but President 'Abd-al-Nasir had some opinions about some Brothers, and at that time a difference in views between 'Abd-al-Nasir and the Brothers started to creep in.

AL-MUSAWWAR: What we know is that the Moslem Brothers' leaders presented President 'Abd-al-Nasir with a list of a number of personalities who were Brothers and whom they wanted to take part in the government, and they insisted on these personalities specifically.

Al-Talmasani: We did not present a list; rather, we requested that some Moslem Brothers share in the cabinet. Mr al-Hudaybi presented some names. 'Abd-al-Nasir complained about one of the people presented and said that he was too young. He was Hasan al-'Ashmawi, may God have mercy on him. He also complained about 'Abd-al-Qadir 'Awdah. Ahmad al-Baquri entered the cabinet on his own.

AL-MUSAWWAR: That sort of thing happened with Imam al-Banna and Shaykh al-Sukkari, when al-Sukkari was the imam's deputy and al-Nahhas' cabinet complained about al-Sukkari's promotion; the Brothers insisted that al-Sukkari refuse the Wafd's promotion although he deserved it more, and al-Sukkari insisted on getting the promotion. Ultimately al-Sukkari left the Brothers.

Al-Talmasani: All I can point out is that al-Sukkari considered that he should be responsible for political affairs among the Brothers, while the guide should be in

charge of educational and spiritual aspects. Al-Sukkari was handled in a special manner by some Wafdist. They put him in the limelight to the point where high-ranking Wafdist would open car doors for him. However, when al-Sukkari was appointed to Grade Three, he became the one who opened the car doors for the Wafdist.

#### Secrets of the Brothers' Relationship with Faruq

AL-MUSAWWAR: Could you shed some light on the Brothers' relationship with King Faruq?

Al-Talmasani: All I know is what the public knows: the general guide asked for a meeting with King Faruq, who met him, and he went out saying "It was a fine meeting with a fine king." The men of the revolution rebuked him for that.

Perhaps this sort of thing will give an idea of the Brothers' leaders and their way of dealing with rulers. We do not want to clash with anyone. Mr al-Hudaybi met with Ibrahim 'Abd-al-Hadi at his home; he was the one who originated the idea of using torture on the Brothers.

AL-MUSAWWAR: What is amazing on this subject is the fact that the Brothers' conduct in that period resembled that of all the other political parties: they were ready to make an alliance with the palace and all parties as they saw fit; they had the same instruments that any political party plays with. The Brothers, who considered themselves a religious body, did not consider themselves to be above any party conduct.

Al-Talmasani: We did not try to get in contact with anyone, not with the king or with any party. Instead, they were the ones who tried to get in contact with us. Although there were problems under the surface, I was not responsible for them, although I was a member of the society's Guidance Committee. The king was not the only one who asked to meet with Mr al-Banna and Mr al-Hudaybi; the Wafd did also. Perhaps you will remember that Siraj-al-Din and Ahmad Hamzah, may God have mercy on him, visited the Moslem Brothers' headquarters and gave talks there.

We, as a society, if we had asked any party or any ruler to meet, I would be wrong if I said that we would refuse, because that would mean that we were declaring war against them. We were fully prepared to meet any responsible person, but I cannot agree that our methods were the same as those the parties had adopted. In the present era, when the idea of establishing a front in opposition to President al-Sadat was being circulated, the Wafd, the Communists, the Grouping and the Labor /Party/ asked me to join them; the reply was that Islam itself is a front. Let anyone who wants to be a front join us, and when we are a single society we will be able to talk to al-Sadat as a single entity.

AL-MUSAWWAR: With all due respect and credence to what you are saying, we cannot understand how President al-Sadat allowed you to circulate the magazine AL-DA'WAH at a time when the existence of the Moslem Brothers as an organization or body was illegal.

Al-Talmasani: AL-DA'WAH was issued in the forties. Credit for the reissuance of AL-DA'WAH magazine does not go to President al-Sadat, because Mr Salih al-'Ashmawi

had been careful to issue the magazine in regular fashion, although in a modest form. He issued it in two or three pages, keeping the permit and the license. When we got out of prison in 1971, the first thing I did was to go to 'Abidin Palace to register my thanks to President al-Sadat for releasing me. The magazine AL-DA'WAH was being issued.

AL-MUSAWWAR: AL-DA'WAH's circulation was not suspended, even in 'Abd-al-Nasir's era?

Al-Talmasani: No, it was not. It was issued, and there were court announcements in it, in order to retain the permit, that is, it was issued in modest form. No one can be credited with the reissuance of this magazine, and it cannot be said that we conspired with President al-Sadat to get him to give us permission to issue the magazine. Most unfortunately, however, these facts were not raised in many speeches, but they are not proof that there was anything between us.

Dr Jamal: Why do the Brothers express the fact that they are above parties and at the same time engage in political activities? I say that the Society of the Brothers for a while after its emergence remained largely remote from the pursuit of politics.

In the days of the late Hasan al-Banna, there was a discussion on whether or not the society should be preoccupied with politics. There was an objection on the part of some people and this caused a particular group to branch off from the Moslem Brothers.

There is in my view more than one reason why the Brothers got in contact with the Wafd, Misr al-Fatat, and the various cabinets which they at some times supported for their positions and at other times opposed. Foremost among these is the fact that some parties, after feeling the strength of the Brothers, engaged in the effort to benefit from them or at least exploit them. In addition, during this period the Brothers cooperated with cabinets that cooperated with them in attaining their objectives, and did not oppose or attack them. That of course provoked rifts within the society.

On the special question of how the society could allow the existence of a secret agency while working in the field of Islam:

The answer in my opinion is that the Brothers did not want to change the regime at all, but rather two matters were always at issue by the force of logic in every political power: change within the framework of the regime or change outside the context of the regime.

Ahmad Husayn Requested the Merger of the Brothers and Misr al-Fatat into a Single Body

AL-MUSAWWAR: Before 1952, it was clear that the Brothers had become a tremendous force on the Egyptian Street and it was clear that the issue of preoccupation with politics had been decided at some point within the society. The question that arises now is, why didn't their representatives take part in the elections? Why

didn't they adopt the platform of change from within? Why did they prefer that the change come from outside, through the establishment of a special secret agency?

Al-Talmasani: Everyone who dealt with the Moslem Brothers was the initiator, in that he asked for contact. We did not ask for contact with anyone. Living persons, among them Mr Ahmad Husayn, may God give him strength and vigor, who once thought of having Misr al-Fatat and the Moslem Brothers join forces in a single body--in this, I played the role of contact officer; Imam Hasan al-Banna sent me to meet Mr Ahmad Husayn and reach an understanding with him on that. I went to him and he talked with us about that subject. The result of the meeting was that Mr Ahmad Husayn asked to assume charge of political affairs, on grounds that he was a leader, while Hasan al-Banna would take charge of spiritual affairs on grounds that he was a guide.

Naturally I believe that at that point the meeting ended, because two commanders on one boat must of necessity drown.

Religion does not acknowledge anything by the name of politics, but religion does organize the life of the individual from all angles--how he eats, drinks, conducts commercial activity and gets married, how he rules, how he is ruled, how he sleeps; everything in man's life, general and particular. One bedouin even told some of the prophet's companions "The prophet has taught you everything, even how to relieve yourselves."

The statement that the Moslem Brothers are active in politics is a strange one. We are preoccupied with religion. When I say that usury is prohibited, I am not addressing myself to the country's economic policy aspect, I am addressing myself to the religious aspect, by taking the initiative of telling the ruler that usury is prohibited. When he himself considers that to be interference in economic policy, I have nothing to say to him, because I am speaking in the language of religion. Similarly, if I say that religion calls for freedom for the individual and rule by consultation, I am not speaking about the political aspect of government at all, I am speaking because almighty glorious God says "Command them to consult among themselves" and because the prophet says "If there are three of you, order one to be over you."

Like anything else, we started our existence just as a small baby that cannot sit down then learns to sit, that cannot crawl then crawls, that cannot walk then walks.

When we started, we started step by step. At every point we expanded on the interpretation of the Koran on the basis of the contents of the books of interpretation and the works of religious jurists and scholars.

People think that this is interference in politics. We have not interfered in politics and we never asked for power for its own sake. We entered the elections. I am one person who entered the elections twice, once in the district of Nawi, Qalyubiyah and once in the district of al-Khanikah. I did not win either time--once I got the bond back and once I did not.

AL-MUSAWWAR: In the 1949 elections where the Wafd got a majority you cooperated with the Bloc Party. The list contained 50 candidates from the Society of the Moslem Brothers.

AL-Talmasani: Some of us entered the elections as independents, and others entered under the aegis of some parties. The late Muhammad 'Abd-al-Rahman Nusayr belonged to the Moslem Brothers. He was a member of the Founding Committee and was also with the Constitutional Liberals.

Al-Banna ordered the government in power at that time to make him withdraw. Therefore al-Nahhas Pasha summoned him to Mina House and kept after him until he agreed to withdraw in exchange for concessions from the Wafdist cabinet to the Brothers' benefit. We do not advocate clashes in order to be a source of sabotage in the country.

Dr Jamal: I would like to disagree with Mr 'Umar al-Talmasani on the point that the Society is not preoccupied with political activity. It is just a semantic disagreement. The subject of preoccupation with politics was settled in the Society at an early time, in the same terms.

Al Talmasani: You may all remember that al-Nuqrashi Pasha went to the United Nations. We sent people there to support him while the parties were all opposed to him and accused him of treason. We said that as long as he was abroad defending the rights of Egypt, all Egypt, they had to support him. At that time I was abroad.

AL-MUSAWWAR: Nonetheless, when the crime of al-Nuqrashi's assassination took place, the trip to the United Nations was one of the justifications for it.

Dr Jamal: What I disagree with Mr 'Umar about is his statement that the Brothers were unjustly accused of politics, because pursuing the appeal to Islam, in the authoritarian view, will certainly lead people to engage in political activity, on the basis of the term that exists.

#### The Brothers and the Notion of Renunciation

AL-MUSAWWAR: Some people consider that most of the tendencies toward violence that have emerged in Islamic societies, or societies that call themselves Islamic, all emerged from the aegis of the Moslem Brothers during the period of withdrawal or the period of imprisonment. What is the truth about that?

Al-Talmasani: If you hung around the Moslem Brothers in prison you would have been infinitely astonished, because they dealt with one another and with real criminals, with people from parties and even Communists, in a most upright manner, in total self-sacrifice and loyalty.

This atmosphere of integrity was met with an atmosphere of the utmost harshness and violence, in which one of our Brothers would stand hungry in front of an investigator and the investigator would have whiskey and barbecued meat in front of him, or the Brother would be standing naked in front of the investigator and the investigator would extinguish his cigarette in a sensitive part of his body rather than the ashtray.

AL-MUSAWWAR: Are there any eyewitnesses to that?

Al-Talmasani: Yes, there are eyewitnesses. I saw this. I personally was hung up like a carcass when I went to the War Prison in 1954. They made me stand on a chair then tied me up and pulled out the chair so that I would hang like a butcher's carcass. This is where the notion of renunciation arose; young people who faced all these tortures did not believe that the people who were doing that could be devout.

Shaykh al-Nimr has an openly declared, published opinion in which he addressed himself to this point. He said that the reason young people drifted into this sort of violence was due to the torture they saw, which had never occurred to anyone. No one anywhere in the world, even in the days of the investigative courts, witnessed the likes of what we witnessed. Young people are to be forgiven for saying that this is not the work of Moslems. There is where the notion of renouncing people on the grounds that they were not Moslems arose among some young people. We tell people who are crying, "Do not cry" instead of telling the people who are doing the beating "Do not beat!"

We turn the statement inside out and say that young people are destructive terrorists.

We have told officials more than once, "Let us talk to these young people and set them straight. Their thinking is in error and we will put them on the right path. The remedy to the situation is not through violence, because violence begets violence."

The method that is adopted in dealing with these crimes is wrong all along the line. There is nothing good about it. In fact it makes the situation worse.

AL-MUSAWWAR: Did you become acquainted with any of the leaders of the existing Islamic societies during this period?

Al-Talmasani: The fact is that my nature, in which I was raised, has made me mix with people only a little. I do not mix with people very much.

Shukri Mustafa was with us in the Turah Farm Prison but I did not talk to him or speak with him. If I told the ministers of the interior that I did not know Mustafa Shukri /sic/, perhaps they would not believe me, but, when some of the Brothers in prison told me that the notion of "renunciation" existed, I met with Mr al-Hudaybi, who was with us and wrote his book "Proselytizers, not Judges," which disapproved of people who renounce other persons.

AL-MUSAWWAR: What were the circumstances of this book which the late al-Hudaybi was said to have written in prison?

Al-Talmasani: This notion arose in the ranks of the young people who were subjected to torture and who considered the Moslem Brothers' method of pursuing a platform of peaceability: "Call for your lord's way with wisdom and good exhortation and argue with them with the best arguments."

The young people who had been subjected to torture did not like our method. They said that this method did not benefit them, and they started meeting together. When their numbers grew, and Mr al-Hudaybi, who was with them in prison, learned about it, we thought of remedying these ideas. We would summon some of them in the prison and sit down to talk with them, but they adopted a Shiite style for themselves, "dissimulation in religious matters." They would talk with you as if they were convinced, but they would not be convinced. In their meetings with al-Hudaybi they would accept the validity of his views, but they would go out the same way they had come in. When Mr al-Hudaybi found that things had become intensified he called in some Brothers who had some knowledge of the provisions of Islamic law and asked them to give their opinions on this matter. Some of the Brothers wrote down their opinions on the subject of renunciation and reached unanimous agreement that that meant anyone who called his fellow Moslem an infidel. One of them raised that and started to compose the book "Proselytizers, not Judges."

AL-MUSAWWAR: Who helped compose this book?

Al-Talmasani: The greatest contribution came from Mr Ma'mun al-Hudaybi, who was a counsellor in the criminal court. A group of Brothers no more than seven in number participated with Mr al-Hudaybi in gathering information, documents and evidence. They brought that to him and he wrote the book. We considered that to be proof that the Moslem Brothers, through their guide, rejected renunciation, violence and damage, but in spite of that people insist on making accusations against the Moslem Brothers.

AL-MUSAWWAR: Which of the two expresses the Brothers' true thinking, the book "Proselytizers, not Judges" or the book "Signposts along the Road" which Sayyid Qutb wrote, calling for the renunciation of society, describing it as a pagan society, especially since most of those young people were influenced by Sayyid Qutb?

Al-Talmasani: It was the book "Proselytizers, not Judges" that expressed the thinking of the Moslem Brothers. Mr Sayyid Qutb, when he wrote the book "Social Justice" in the days of Faruq, had an objective, and when he wrote again, after Faruq, he had a different objective. The circumstances, environment, concomitant features and what was taking place gave a new framework to the idea.

AL-MUSAWWAR: Why do you consider that the book "Proselytizers, not Judges" is closer to the Brothers' thinking than the book "Signposts along the Road? What are the facts of the case?

Al-Talmasani: The facts of the case are that Mr al-Hudaybi led the Society of the Brothers, and the commander is always responsible for the multitudes. If he writes, he does so out of appreciation for the interests of society. The people who are like us write with their own ideas.

Mr al-Hudaybi was afraid to say anything that infringed upon the Society because he was responsible for it.

The other point is that al-Hudaybi was a counsellor in the court of cassation and was well known for his accuracy.

The third point is that when al-Hudaybi talked as a general guide of the Moslem Brothers, he would support his opinion with Koranic verses and prophetic traditions, so that it would not be discussed, but when any other man was writing he would write from the inspiration of his own mind.

The fourth point is one people might not like: we are more inclined to put trust in the statements of our guide than in statements by anyone else. We always believe that the guide is right but if he deviates we tell him "you are not a guide."

These factors prompted us to tend to give preference to al-Hudaybi's book over that by Sayyid Qutb.

AL-MUSAWWAR: To what extent can one consider the book "Signposts along the Road" responsible for this idea, for the renunciation of society and incitement to violence?

Al-Talmasani: The truth is that if you read the book "Signposts along the Road" you will see that Sayyid Qutb was harsh in the way he addressed himself to the events that took place in Egypt at that period. Perhaps some young people derived the idea from it that the harshness must bring them to the point where they would be violent. Perhaps they adopted that view but nonetheless when we read Sayyid Qutb's interpretation of some of the verses that deal with people who do not rule in accordance with God's revelation, we do not find any definitions of renunciation, because he states that if the ruler rules, saying "I am ruling on the basis of the law that I embrace, not God's law," he is not an infidel; however, if he says "What I embrace is God's," then he is violating God's ruling and is an infidel. On that point, with regard to "renunciation," Islam is anxious that people keep away from it.

AL-MUSAWWAR: Have you read "Close Examinations" by Shukri Mustafa and "The Hidden Obligation" by Muhammad 'Abd-al-Salam Faraj?

Al-Talmasani: No, I haven't.

AL-MUSAWWAR: Why haven't you read Shukri Mustafa's "Close Examinations?"

Al-Talmasani: The fact is that I have a total conviction in my own ideas because I am basing myself on the Koran's verses and the prophet's traditions and consequently no other book beside the Koran is of any use to me. Therefore I am saving myself the time I might waste in reading a book.

When I hear for example about someone who wrote "The Hidden Obligation," and the fact that he is speaking about holy war, I know a great deal about holy war, what it is and what its methods are.

Why should I read "The Hidden Obligation?" Shall I read a man who squeezes the juice from verses or traditions so that he can extract an idea from them that he wants to promote? In general I have not read "Close Examinations" and maybe I have not heard of it.

AL-MUSAWWAR: You should have read "Close Examinations" for its serious contents. In it, Shukri Mustafa set out a summary of his theoretical thinking about repentance and atonement from the perspective of his prison term, at least so we could learn how this latest generation, which emerged from the aegis of the Moslem Brothers, thinks.

Al-Talmasani: They renounced everything; even when we sent them lawyers to defend them they renounced them.

AL-MUSAWWAR: We severely criticize you for not reading these books, which have ruined hundreds of consciences among a class of young people who imagined that that was proper thinking because they could not find the proper Moslem who would express their views through what he wrote.

Al-Talmasani: I do not deny that and I consider it a mistake on my part. However, if you knew the extent to which I was preoccupied and could not find the time to read even the special reading materials that I relax with, I would be excused.

#### Have the Brothers Played Their Part?

AL-MUSAWWAR: It was clear even during the period in prison that an intellectual current was being crystallized and that that current represented a threat even to the Society of Moslem Brothers and spread about among young people like fire through straw. In spite of that, when the magazine AL-DA'WAH was issued we did not find even a review of these ideas or a discussion of these currents in it which might bring them to the surface so that a conversation could be held with them.

The question is, was AL-DA'WAH magazine's failure to get into a conversation with these currents the result of a lack of trust between these currents and you as the old generation of Moslem Brothers, who might be faulted for slackness, negligence or conciliation, or was it the result of neglect by you yourselves of these currents and your failure to anticipate that they might spread about in this manner? There are people who say that when these intellectual currents stiffened their resolve and became a force, you found that there was no way to avoid dealing with them and decided that perhaps you could get some backing and support from them.

Al-Talmasani: The fact is that we were unconscionably distressed. I said this to the former minister of the interior. I told him, "You have focussed all your responsibilities on the Moslem Brothers and have ignored these groups." We were besieged, and I informed him more than once, "Leave us be, give us an opportunity to understand the young people. These religious groups look upon al-Azhar and its scholars as official employees. Let us do that." But they didn't.

On some occasions, the minister of the interior would send us to university faculties. When I talked to young people, they accepted what I had to say even though they did not know me. They accepted what I had to say and my advice against demonstrations, against violence, against strikes, against sabotage and sit-ins--I opposed all these manifestations most clearly and bluntly.

In al-Zawiyah al-Hamra' I was the first person Mr Nabawi Isma'il got in touch with and the first person to serve him there. The president said once in one of his speeches that the permanent Council of Islamic Societies played a commendable role in stifling the dissension. I chaired this conference. Then later he said, in his speech, "'Umar al-Talmasani was one of the causes of the strife.' Unfortunately the people in attendance clapped on both occasions.

AL-MUSAWWAR: Why did you refuse to register the Moslem Brothers as a society?

Al-Talmasani: I refused to have the Brothers be just a benevolent society. When President al-Sadat told me "Go to Dr Amal 'Uthman," I told the former president, which made my excuse just an excuse, "In spite of my total respect for Mrs Amal 'Uthman I would like you to send me to Nabawi Isma'il or Mansur Hasan; there is no cause for Mrs Amal."

AL-MUSAWWAR: Was this just an excuse or did it reflect your position on women generally?

Al-Talmasani: I would be the first person to respect women. I was the happiest husband in the world with my first wife, may God have mercy on her, with whom I lived for 53 years. We never argued, ever. If she was angry no one tolerated it more easily and nobly and she made me live happily, until the days of prison, and she was the best example of a good proper wife.

AL-MUSAWWAR: Do you believe that AL-DA'WAH was deficient or was afraid to discuss the idea of the Islamic societies and violence?

Al-Talmasani: At the outset, I hope that we can eliminate the notion of fear. Hafiz al-Asad is out for my blood. For a while he would prepare a bulletin every Tuesday for a period of half an hour on 'Umar al-Talmasani, and the Brothers asked me more than once to let one of them assume the task of guarding me. I said that I believed that my time in life was set.

However, I am telling the truth; affairs of state do not please me. The conduct of deputies, and people besides the deputies, has not been frank, in fact we had a feeling that there were people who intended to give this way of thinking some scope, to strike out at the Society of Moslem Brothers.

Who believes that one of the commanders of the Islamic groups received 150 feddans in Liberation Province that he and his group could farm? Ask who this commander is.

AL-MUSAWWAR: Who is he? We are not asking names for the sake of learning names, but to learn about the conduct of officials in the government.

Al-Talmasani: I am stating the facts and it is up to you to investigate them. Ask who that land was given to. In addition they gave this commander a place in al-Sayyidah Zaynab from which to broadcast his appeal. He was one of the people who were detained.

AL-MUSAWWAR: Who is he? In whose era was that?

Al-Talmasani: Just 3 or 4 years ago.

AL-MUSAWWAR: There is an interpretation which holds that when you found that these Islamic groups had become strong, you hastened to ride the wave.

Al-Talmasani: What wave? We are not riding waves, and we have not failed to take advantage of opportunities to condemn the violence and provocation of the groups. I wish you would tell me the name of just one person who wanted to ride the wave, as you put it.

AL-MUSAWWAR: 'Umar al-Talmasani.

Al-Talmasani: Heaven forfend! I have opposed the notion of violence in all my positions and in all my writings. I have condemned and do condemn violence, murder and assassination with all my strength.

I have been accused by the Islamic societies of being a client of the regime, but I have not been concerned with this accusation.

So how could I be accused of riding the wave? Why? If I was looking for fame I would have gone into the Consultative Assembly and become a leader without equal there.

We call for virtue and peace and our hearts harbor no hatred or vindictiveness toward any creature.

Violence Is Individual Conduct And We Should Not Blame Islamic Thinking For It

AL-MUSAWWAR: Where does religious doctrine stand on the murder of 'Uthman ibn 'Affan? Where does religious doctrine stand on the incident of the Military Technical College, the assassination of Dr al-Dhahabi and the assassination of al-Sadat?

Al-Talmasani: Before answering, let me ask a question. Where does religious doctrine stand on a person who says he crucified Christ, who was one of the prophets?

Religious doctrine is totally unrelated to these crimes.

Take the case of 'Uthman ibn al-'Affan. First, in order to say that 'Uthman was assassinated, we must read everything that covers this matter, and the genius of al-'Aqqad and what Dr Taha Husayn wrote are not enough. In spite of the grandeur of Taha's style, which no one will argue about, I as a person have not acquired any knowledge from Taha Husayn; I just benefited from the style, from reading it and the way it was written.

Al-'Aqqad was more learned than Taha. We have many books on Islamic history that fill this list that one can refer to.

The killing of 'Uthman started with an Islamic idea, which was not in violation of Islam. The people who attacked him said that 'Uthman had been partial to his

own people and had advanced them over the heads of the Moslems. They also said that he had changed and shifted. That was due to their own ignorance and not the ignorance of the commander of the faithful.

'Uthman said that the prophet, on whom be God's prayers and peace, shortened the prayer during the pilgrimage, but 'Uthman did not shorten it. He made four bows of prayer at noon and the same number in the evening.

They told 'Abdallah ibn Mas'ud, in condemnation, "You are taking the sayings and doings of the prophet of God in a negligent manner; why are you making four bows in prayer along with 'Uthman?" He said, "I was afraid to state that I differed with the commander of the faithful."

In this kind of situation, Abu Bakr would have a view of matters and 'Umar and 'Uthman would differ with him, but they carried out his views, and matters did not reach the point of profound differences among them. Then there were differences in viewpoints and there were people who said such-and-such about 'Uthman and killed him. They did not kill him because they argued with him over an opinion or Islamic law but because they had a wrong notion. The Kharijites did not violate the existing order because of an error 'Ali had made but because of their wrong notions. We cannot blame Islamic thinking for the mistakes of some individuals; we would be doing violence to the facts. This is a defect in personal conduct which we must not blame all of Islamic thinking for.

Dr Jamal: Sometimes we confuse Islamic law with Islamic thinking

Islamic law has its standards which do not change with changes in economic, social and political circumstances, and no other cultures enter into it, since it is divine law. In my opinion it is Islamic law which governs religious doctrine.

However, Islamic thinking has a broader meaning and can tolerate differences in opinion, because they are individual judgments. In Islamic law, it is not lawful to shed the blood of Moslems, but when someone comes and says that when a person commits an act of insubordination or a violation he becomes an infidel and it is lawful to shed his blood and take his money, Islam, and Moslem society, are not responsible for this; they are absolutely not to be blamed for the results of it.

I do not approve of assassination in any form, and I do not approve of violence. I consider that 'Uthman was killed unjustly and the same is true with al-Dhahabi and al-Sadat. In Islamic society, convictions of all crimes must be performed by the judiciary, in accordance with Islamic law, and the imam must take charge of executing them. There is nothing whatsoever in Islamic law that makes it legitimate for someone to assume responsibility for the judiciary and for the execution at the same time, from 'Uthman's era to now.

AL-MUSAWWAR: Mr 'Umar al-Talmasani has talked a great deal about his relations with the Ministry of the Interior. What is the nature of these relations?

Al-Talmasani: Minister Nabawi Isma'il was a second lieutenant in the Shabin al-Qanatir district when I was a lawyer there. When anything occurred, it

happened that he would get in touch with me by telephone and would ask my opinion and assistance.

Because of the old acquaintance, I got along with him. I was taken by surprise at my detention in September, and I told myself "You know me thoroughly and then you detain me?"

AL-MUSAWWAR: Why wasn't these young people's religious belief adequate to prevent the crime?

Dr Jamal: Because religious belief did not find the right way to reach the spirits of young people. The prophet, may God's peace and blessings be upon him, resorted to exhortation only occasionally. His style was to educate through good example and work. The fact is that this issue has been the subject of attention since the forties. Al-Azhar was rebuked for basing its plan for guidance on exhortation and words. Words are not beneficial to society. Islam was not even spread about by words or knowledge. Rather, it was spread about by good examples. The Islamic societies realized this and acted on it. When their members go to the mosques they are closely linked with one another by an intimate association. In the framework of this intimate association, they impose their notions and beliefs on the other party.

AL-MUSAWWAR: How was Abu-al-A'la al-Mawdudi able to reach these people's minds to the point where he represented a pillar of their thinking? What is the story of this thinker and the Islamic currents in Egypt, and what is his value?

Al-Talmasani: Abu al-A'la was an Islamic thinker. When he wrote from his thinking and wisdom, he provided wondrous things. However, when he cited the verses and the prophetic traditions as testimony, his power was not as great. In addition, Moslems are required to have sagacity. They are also required to base their sagacity and wisdom on the sayings and doings of the prophet and the holy book. There is no doubt that al-Mawdudi, may God have mercy on him, had a grasp of all that, but he did not have the power to be convincing when he talked about the holy book and the prophet's sayings and doings.

AL-MUSAWWAR: There are problems in society which might have led to the appearance of these societies in such violent form. What is your opinion on why extremist violence grew in this fashion, which is astonishing and surprising at the same time?

Al-Talmasani: The most important reason for young people's deviation toward violence is the torture they were subjected to in prison, which was considerable.

Another point is that in the view of all Moslems, all manifestations of society are ones where young people consider that the teachings of their religion require specific conditions, and they consider that conditions especially arise in a country whose constitution says that its official religion is Islam and that Islamic law is the major source of the codification of laws. Young people most certainly are influenced and will think a long time about whether a given act is compatible with what is being said. Is it an Islamic country or not?

This actually leads young people to think at length, because if they do not do so they will be living on the margin of life and neither their government nor their religion will concern them.

I also consider that young people, through the teachings of Islam, know how young girls should behave in their dress, their morals and their conduct. Then in the university they see a store display-window of clothes that Islam finds displeasing. Young people are to be excused when they see these phenomena and say that conditions are unsound and must change.

When television shows scenes of debauchery and excess in the movies, where is the censorship, and where is Islam? Then there is this consumerist liberalization, with all the problems it has brought on the country.

AL-MUSAWWAR: We do not know whether you were aware that most of the liberalization that exists in the Egyptian market today stands on the shoulders of some long-standing Moslem Brothers who lived in exile then returned to Egypt with their wealth.

Al-Talmasani: I do not doubt that some rich Brothers are making contributions in the area of consumerist liberalization, and I do not approve of that. Liberalization must be more productive than consumerist. Consumerist liberalization has become widespread throughout the country and the government is letting it alone.

However, while I deplore this consumerist liberalization, I am not deplored anything that I am just talking about by myself; you also are talking about it. We can read what you are writing if you like.

There are immense fortunes in the country. We can deal with these fortunes in a manner where we will preserve the rich person's rights while all Moslems benefit. When God says, in his book, "There is a well known right to your wealth," that does not mean alms, good work or a tithe; the right to give the tithe is a religious obligation. As the prophet says, "There is no one among us who died well-fed while his neighbor was hungry." That is social equality.

In any event, Islam is not pleased when a rich person, and I will not mention names, has palaces and mansions and there are poor people next to him. What kind of Islam is this? I do not disapprove of money in the hands of the wealthy but I do disapprove of their way of disposing of their money, if they do not perform the obligations that have been imposed upon them.

#### Where Does the Financing for AL-DA'WAH Magazine Come from?

AL-MUSAWWAR: What are the sources of financing for AL-DA'WAH magazine?

Al-Talmasani: Do you want to know where its financing comes from? From outside Egypt; every Brother in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and everywhere else sends AL-DA'WAH one month's salary out of every 12. I do not get a salary from the magazine but I drive an eight-cylinder car worth 30,000 pounds; I did not pay for it but it came to me as a gift from Brothers in America. When I registered a protest and

said that it needed a driver, gasoline and repairs, they said "We have made all the arrangements for that, and I said, "Please go ahead."

AL-MUSAWWAR: Why do you drive a 30,000-pound car while the Egyptian streets are packed with poor people?

Al-Talmasani: The Islamic call is the loftiest thing in the opinion of these expatriate brothers, and they therefore sent us things which would be commensurate with the majesty and the status of the Moslem Brothers' appeal.

It is wrong to talk about a person's personality. However, I do not own anything. In the days of 'Abd-al-Nasir I sold everything, and I am now living on 60 pounds, which is my pension from the Lawyers' Union. I live in a house that rents for 3 pounds and its furnishings are very simple. Although I could have lived in a villa, I did not exploit my situation and did not traffic in religion. I did not parrot slogans. Rather, I am living in a realistic manner.

When Brothers in Kuwait send me pistachios and almonds over the holiday, should I throw them in their faces? Of course not.

AL-MUSAWWAR: In spite of all these justifications, we consider that a 30,000-pound car is a bit much.

Al-Talmasani: Does anyone want to buy it from me?

Aminah: I swear by God that I cannot ride anything that is not suitable and that I am not entitled to, although I am not a Brother. There are 30 or 40 million people who cannot.

Al-Talmasani: We perform this obligation, the obligation of helping the poor and needy families. We give them what must be given. When the prophet received delegations he wore a purple outer garment made in Yemen and he bought a tent to sit in which he paid 27 she-camels for. The fault does not lie in appearance itself. The Koran states: "Say who it is that has prohibited the adornments and the good forms of sustenance that God has brought forth for his worshippers."

Who did God create mangoes and good things for? Just for the Westerners to eat? Why shouldn't I eat them myself? What were turkeys created for? To be eaten.

AL-MUSAWWAR: One of the justifications that Islamic societies have adopted for al-Sadat's assassination is their claim that he led a life of luxury and also enjoyed good forms of sustenance.

Al-Talmasani: That is true, with one difference: the commander or the ruler should be a good example; our lord 'Umar ibn al-'Khattab wore old shirts, though one should bear in mind that all the empires were under his command. The ruler ought not to appear in such a luxurious manner; he should go down to the level of the lowest member of the people.

The prophet was hungry and did not light a fire in his home for 3 months. He continued to live on bread, cucumbers and water, and not because people who could supply him were stingy.

Dr Jamal: The only criterion is that it should entail nothing provocative to the people and the source of these things should not be prohibited. The prophet was different from everyone else because he was a prophet and a ruler and did not accept alms, though he did accept gifts.

AL-MUSAWWAR: Do you have any foreign financing sources, we mean, other than Egyptians?

Al-Talmasani: Mr Mamduh Salim, who was the prime minister, once called me and told me "We are subsidizing all the magazines that exist. AL-DA'WAH is an Islamic magazine and we must subsidize it." I told him, and I am being truthful, "May the prophet rebuke you for raising this matter with me, you head cab driver!"

Kamal Adham, the brother of King Faysal's wife, invited me to meet him when I was discharging the obligation of the pilgrimage in 1975, and he broached some financial support to me. I told him, "I am sorry. I thought that you had invited me as an Islamic proselytizer. Goodbye." I left him. He went out with me to the elevator.

#### Societies Have the Right To Appoint Commanders--but

AL-MUSAWWAR: Does the Islamic religion stipulate that every society is to have a commander who must be obeyed?

Al-Talmasani: We do not disapprove of young people's religious orientations--in fact we urge them toward such orientations. However, we disapprove of violence in any form.

If any young person establishes a society and becomes its commander, that is something that we must accept, and we must receive him in the Islamic manner as approved by Islamic law. However, for a society to be established with violence as its goal, that is what we disapprove of, are unhappy with, do not condone, and do not accept in any form.

AL-MUSAWWAR: Doesn't the process of commanding entail specifications or stipulations?

'Umar al-Talmasani: It does, but not command in general; that is a special kind of command.

'Umar al-Talmasani: Let us suppose that he has been wrong about conditions and specifications; what will we do with him? If we sit down in a group, it is assumed that we must appoint one of our number to be our chief, lest chaos arise. If the commander or the group which has established a commander does wrong, the wrong lies with everyone. This is the difference between the rule and the practical application; the rule on organization is totally sound, but the application may not

be. That is, people have the right to appoint a commander but their activity should not be directed toward violence.

AL-MUSAWWAR: It was strange to all of us that the credit for the Islamic movement in general goes to President al-Sadat, as you said, and that he brought the Moslem Brothers out of the concentration camps and allowed them a newspaper, a presence and the right to exist. The strange thing is that his end came about at the hands of people who said that they were Islamic in their thinking.

'Umar al-Talmasani: The Moslem Brothers are treated unfairly in every way.

First, when al-Sadat released us, I, in my capacity as their representative, went and performed the duty of giving thanks; I wrote down my appreciation and thanks. You may remember that I published a statement in AL-AHRAM in March 1972 or 1973 in which I told President al-Sadat, "You have done a good deed in this regard and in that regard, but I ask you not to settle for just releasing Moslem Brothers." Indeed, I asked him to release the "power centers" "so that it can be apparent to the people that you are not avenging yourself."

From this standpoint we do not disapprove of the man in any respect. However, to say that his end has come at the hands of the Moslem Brothers I think is reprehensible, now that the present president has determined that the Moslem Brothers were as far removed as possible from and had no relationship to this assassination. Therefore we, the Moslem Brothers, have no relationship and al-Sadat's end did not come about through our hands.

The young people we are talking about and whose deviation from Islamic thinking we are talking about, and the fact that they have adopted this style--we find it reprehensible that there should be violence in Islam; the Moslem Brothers have absolutely nothing to do with what happened.

#### Violence toward People with Ideas Increases Their Adherence to Them

AL-MUSAWWAR: What is the best way now to deal with those young people in the Islamic Groups who are in detention now?

'Umar al-Talmasani: We may refer to this as a lesson that was learned from 'Abd-al-Nasir's experience. When methods of violence are used they increase the adherence by people with ideas to their ideas, not because of their conviction in them but because they take revenge for what has afflicted and befallen them. If we adopt a different method the results will be different. That method was successful with the person who killed Ahmad Mahir, may God have mercy on him. They did not torture him but sent him religious jurists and reformers who tried to win him over from the religious standpoint. Finally he confessed in full. Would that any existing regime had dealt with these young people in this manner and not put 40 or 50 young men in a narrow chamber, a "dungeon" you could not get closer than 10 meters to because everyone was relieving himself, eating and sleeping in it for days; anyone getting close to the chamber would be afflicted with nausea from the terrible stench.

AL-MUSAWWAR: Was this in the recent period or the days of 'Abd-al-Nasir?

'Umar al-Talmasani: No, this was in the days of 'Abd-al-Nasir.

AL-MUSAWWAR: We are asking about the current situation.

'Umar al-Talmasani: Let me proceed gradually with the discussion and when we get to the present era we will see that thousands of people were herded into prisons and detention and after they were put in prison it was said "We will give the nation a referendum or assign a socialist prosecutor so that we can ascertain how to try these people and how to investigate them." It is as if you had taken me out of my home and put me someplace without bringing a specific complaint or charge against me.

I had imagined that I would be the last person to be arrested in Egypt and I was amazed when someone came to me at 0600 hours in the morning and told me, "Please come." Why? Why this conduct? Then for them to take me--me specifically--and put me someplace by myself, away from the thousands of detainees, then breakfast is brought after 1400 hours in the afternoon and sometimes not at all.

I am not saying that the ruler suggested this, but the wholehearted dedication of subordinates to show loyalty to their chiefs made them mistreat prisoners out of their belief that that would please the president. If a policeman slaps someone on the face in the street, that person will say "The government is hitting me as I go about in the street." He will not say "the policeman."

I believe that if these officials had had strict instructions to deal properly with prisoners and they knew that they would be held to account for cases of abuse, that would calm prisoners' spirits.

When a prison director comes to me and tells me "The minister of the interior is asking after you and wants you to be comfortable" and I suffer distress and vexation, what am I going to say? Either there are people who suggested that to him or he is volunteering to distress me.

In general, my rancor in this case would not be against the prison director but it would be against the person who appointed him prison director.

Putting people in these despicable conditions, crammed into tight rooms, deprived of newspapers, radios or television, is a terrible thing, even though I am sure that they are now dealing in a good, humane way and showing respect for people. Indeed, from what I know, students have started receiving books to study from.

Here ideas are not dealt with by beatings, belts or extreme measures. I deal with young people by taking the method that brought them to this violence. There are people who have misunderstood religion, and we must try, most affectionately, compassionately and flexibly, to put these young people on the proper road and to reach an understanding with them, and then we will succeed. It has happened, inside prison, that some brothers met with deviant young people and by the will of almighty glorious God these young people's condition was set right.

AL-MUSAWWAR: However, your initial experiment was not a success. A short while back you told us about Imam al-Hudaybi's experiment and the efforts he made over these young people.

Al-Talmasani: Mr al-Hudaybi and us, we were restricted in our freedom. It was not in our power to win over or talk with these young people, and none of us asked to. In fact, they accused us of being happy with these young people and supporting them. It was even said that the deviant societies were all a secret organization of the Moslem Brothers. God knows that these deviants attack us just as they attack the authorities.

To evaluate Mr al-Hudaybi's experiment as a failure is incorrect. Rather, what happened is that only a small perverse percentage remained. If we compare the number of people who distanced themselves from violence after Mr al-Hudaybi had spent time with them, one would consider it a total success, because only a few people remained, and they retained their perverse thinking after they left the concentration camps.

#### Strings of Pearls on the Need To Teach Women To Read

Aminah: I would like to ask Mr 'Umar, after his discussion of deviation and university dress, what the line of Islamic thinking is that always insists on putting women in an inferior place, assigning them to the home and depriving them of their rights to an education and to participating with men in work. What is the motive for your imposing restrictions on them that Islam does not endorse?

On top of that, is it Islam for girls in the universities to wear clothes that completely cover them and turn them into devils? It is necessary to shroud girls up in clothes while they are still alive so that no part of them can be seen as they walk around on the streets?

Examples about Moslem men are starting to be cited in other, non-Moslem countries. They portray them as sexually crazed and this is a vicious defamation of the Islamic religion.

Al-Talmasani: Ibn Taymiyah had a work called "Strings of Pearls on the Need To Teach Women To Read" in his day they were enamored of rhyming titles in naming books.

This is the title of the book. Ibn Taymiyah is well known, and this means that Islam does not disapprove of Moslem women or of ladies being educated. The prophet, on whom be peace and prayers, went to visit our Lady 'A'ishah when she was young, and they were getting her to play with dolls, and said, "Have you taught her to read?"

Islam treats women and men equally with regard to reading and education and does not discriminate between them.

The Koran says, "They are entitled to the same things that they are obligated to do, in all fairness, and men are obligated to the same degree."

Thus, in Islam, women's rights are totally equal to man's. The rights and duties that men have are the same as the rights and duties of women.

After the death of the prophet, on whom be prayers and peace, our Lady 'A'ishah was sought on matters of religion. Moslems and the companions of the prophet would go to her to ask her about everything.

Our Lady 'A'ishah, may God be pleased with her, went out to separate two groups of Moslems by herself during the incident of the camel. In Medinah, Umm Salmah, the wife of the prophet, had a daughter named Zaynab who in her era was the best versed of the Moslem women in Medinah on Islamic jurisprudence. In the fourth century, in the Ibn Tulun Mosque, a few meters away from here, there was the lady from the Hijaz, Khadrah, who would teach men and women after dusk.

Islam has never kept ladies from getting an education. Islam has not ordered ladies to put on the veil Mrs Aminah al-Sa'id was talking about.

Islam has never said "Do this and cover your eyes like the devil." Why? Because the harm in that is greater than its benefits, because it was recently proved, and happened to be the case, in buses, that ladies wearing these clothes were really pickpockets.

Islam does not approve of this state of affairs. Islam considers that it is legitimate for this part of the face to be shown. However, your arms, legs and chest, no. No one should be able to enjoy women's seductive charms except those who are permitted to see them.

Therefore it was specified "Let them not display their embellishments except to their husbands, their fathers, the fathers of their husbands, their brothers, the sons of their brothers or the sons of their sisters," and so on, through the rest of the Koranic verse, on which the Koran speaks regarding the display of seductive charms.

Therefore accusing Islam of making it mandatory for women to put on this veil which girls and ladies wear, some of whom also wear gloves, that is not Islamic in any way, because Islam permits women to stand before almighty glorious God while covered, and to have the right to show their face, the palms of their hands, and, some people say, their two feet.

Islam has given women what it has not given men. Men do not have the right to ask women to help furnish the home. Moslem women do not have the obligation to serve their husbands in the home, and, if they do so, they are being gracious. Moslem women do not have the obligation to nurse their sons and, if they do so, they are being gracious.

Nor has Islam given man the right to encroach upon people's rights, and Islam does not consider that the sexual aspect is what holds the home together, because when we get married as young people this aspect might preoccupy us a little, after 2 or 3 years a kind of friendship emerges between man and wife which is the chanciest,

loftiest and most splendid thing there can be. Man's closest friend is his wife. He imparts innermost secrets to her which he would not impart to his father, his mother, his brother or anyone else. Indeed the closest friend is one's wife, because she is the hiding place of one's secrets.

After that there comes the person who wrote a play titled "Nine Hens and a Rooster!" which talks about the Prophet Muhammad and his nine wives. Wasn't there another title that could have been chosen for this play so that I would not have been offended, as a Moslem? Then there is the movie "A Bus to Paradise"--where is the paradise here? Where is the paradise that people go to by bus? Why all this clamor?

This detracts from and distorts the good name of the prophet, who is not like this. When we read why the prophet, on whom be prayers and peace, got married nine times, we realize that there was a reason why he married each of these nine ladies, and it was not sex, of course. The prophet, on whom be prayers and peace, was the most gracious and the best of husbands, being affectionate, gracious, flirtatious, conversational and flattering with his wives, to the point where when 'A'ishah was drinking from a ewer in which there was water, he came and drank from the same spot where she drank to soothe her spirit and satisfy her.

Islam has given ladies what advanced countries have not yet given them.

Islam gives women the right to dispose of their money without permission from their husbands, to dispose of it as they like without referring to their husbands; they have the right to spend their husbands' money within specific limits.

I am reminded of a saying: When Abu Sufyan's wife complained to the prophet and said "Abu Sufyan is stingy and prevents his children from eating properly," the prophet told her "Spend within these limits, that is, take what is enough for you, but not more than that."

Dr Jamal: On this view, we go back to the need to draw a distinction between Islamic law and Islamic thought. The law is just as Mr 'Umar said it is, but in some eras Islamic thought was influenced by other cultures. This backward view of women is derived from the backward Ottoman era specifically, when social circumstances were one reason women suffered the same decline that men did. For this reason, when Western scholars come to study women's situation, they do not take from the sources of Islamic law, they confuse law with history. We know that very many factors influence social circumstances.

#### There Are No Harems in Islam

Al-Talmasani: Because the word "harem" does not exist among us.

Dr. Jamal: We did not hear the word "harem" in the era of the prophet, in the era of the companions, or in the era of the followers, for the same reason that at the beginning the exercise of the right of divorce was extremely difficult.

In some matters, we find that women's rights in Islam are greater than men's and that although their share of inheritance is less, there are eight cases, which are to be found in books, where women get more than men.

In addition, their basic right to education is guaranteed in a manner that leaves no room for doubt. Their right to work is guaranteed in a manner that leaves no room for doubt. Their right to participate in public affairs is guaranteed in a manner that leaves no room for doubt. As for views that are expressed regarding Islam's view of women, this is not connected by any link to Islamic law. But it is connected by a link to Islamic history, and this keeps us from being restricted to a given situation.

AL-MUSAWWAR: With regard to the subject of the second part of the symposium, violence and Islamic societies, we believe that Dr Jamal has questions about that.

Dr Jamal: In reality there is a difference between extremism, or extreme insistence, and violence, or crime.

In reality there is extremism in every idea that has a broad scope. It does not exist in the scientific reality which holds that one plus one equals two; there there is no extremism. However, it is hard for us to find remote roots for violence in Islam. Perhaps Islam has known people who were extremely insistent, but violence was totally out of the picture. The example that is given in the era of the prophet, may God's prayers and peace be upon him, is one of extreme insistence on religion. There is a tradition of the prophet's in which he answers people who are extreme in their insistence: "No one built up a religion where it did not prevail over him."

Al-Talmasani: "This religion is one of ease, it has been deeply permeated by conviviality, and the source is not a land which is to be traversed or a plain that lasts forever; no one built up a religion where it did not prevail over him."

Dr Jamal: Extreme insistence on religion made its appearance in spite of that, when the prophet, on whom be God's prayers and peace, was alive. This was when a group of companions took it upon themselves to deprive themselves of the good things that God had made lawful, claiming, or believing, that that would bring them close to God.

Al-Talmasani: It brought them to the point where they wanted to sterilize themselves to emphasize their severity toward themselves.

Dr Jamal: What the prophet of God did was debate with them over the idea and inform them that he was better than them but that he nonetheless deemed what God had declared to him to be lawful was lawful.

That is extreme insistence and the form it takes, and the way to remedy it is only through advice and good words.

We come to extremism. People find that every social idea must have two sides; this is an established fact in all social and political beliefs. People, according to their appraisal of facts, adhere to one side, others adhere to one side, and here also dialogue must be the accepted method. People ask me, what evidence do you have for this from the Islamic angle? I answer, when the Kharijites' ideas first appeared, and they had an opinion on the struggle between 'Ali and Mu'awiyah,

'Ali ibn Abu Talib started to debate the Kharijites' ideas with them. They told him, "You have become an infidel!" He said, "In God's name, I have not been unfaithful to God since I came to know him." They told him, "How do you arbitrate with people by God's holy law?" He said, "They also state that they adhere to God's holy law, and they must be debated." They told him, "How did you accept arbitration?" He stated, "Almighty glorious God says, 'Submit an opinion from his people and an opinion from their people.'"

The important thing is that the remedy to this way of thinking came about through free debate aimed at persuasion. They also said, "Is it legal to shed the blood and take the property of people who differ with us?" He told them, "If it is legal for you to take their property and their women, whose share will 'A'ishah be?" 'A'ishah, may God be pleased with her, was on the side of the opposition.

The same ibn Qutaybah says, in his book "Trusteeship and Politics," "They became embarrassed and went away."

That is to say, the intellectual confrontation with the Kharijites resulted in the fact that on some occasions they could come up with no argument, and they became embarrassed and went away.

Therefore, violence, at any level, as part of any idea, must be faced decisively. It must be punished. This is the right of Islamic law. The sound application of Islamic law makes it incumbent upon us to discriminate between extremism in thinking and extremism that leads to the point of aggression. The former is confronted by ideas, and there is also a way to confront the latter which is consistent with Islam, and that is confrontation through force on the authorities' part.

#### The Phrase "Factional Strife" Is Alien to Egypt

AL-MUSAWWAR: What is the degree of these groups' participation in factional strife? How can this be avoided? This question is directed at Mr 'Umar specifically, because his position on this issue has not been made clear in his magazine AL-DA'WAH.

Al-Talmasani: Let us think back in history. In 1910 or 1911 there were two conferences, a conference in Heliopolis and another one in Asyut, the former for Moslems and the latter for Christians, in which accusations were traded back and forth. The matter ended peaceably.

Matters were not inflated as they have become recently. There were publications that have been distributed on buses and trams and in the streets discrediting the Islamic religion and Muhammad, on whom be peace and blessings. I do not know if any of these have reached you. A group of these publications reached me, and I gave them to the minister of the interior.

AL-MUSAWWAR: We received some but we laid that to a third party that had an interest in harming national unity.

Dr. Jamal: Also as far as we are concerned, I received a research work of about 16 legal-size pages containing material that was acceptable to no one.

AL-MUSAWWAR: For our part, also, we Moslems, to be objective--some research works have appeared that are just as defamatory to them (the Christians). Maybe there is a third party. Egypt is an open country and there are people who would wish to conspire against it. However, we would like a real position on this issue from Mr 'Umar, one that is clear.

Al-Talmasani: When I think back in history I consider that what people call "factional strife" was not that at all but that 70 years ago there was a position somewhat like that in Egypt and matters were not so inflated.

I do not rule out the possibility that the publications you talked about could have been issued by a third party. However, since we are making assumptions, all assumptions are possible, since I do not have absolute proof.

We, as Moslems, believe that Jesus, on whom be prayers and peace, is a prophet, and arrogance about our religion cannot take us to the point where we cast any abuse on Jesus or Mary at all. We consider Mary to be above what the Jews have said about her.

We believe that she was a pure virgin, that the spirit of almighty God was breathed into her and that Christ was a prophet and a messenger of God. Others besides us do not consider Muhammad in this light. Others deny Muhammad his divine mission.

I, as a Moslem, in spite of myself, whether I wish no or not, am drawn by pride toward Muhammad when others impugn him. Of course I do not settle for that. However, folly does not carry the Moslem Brothers to the point that people imagine, because, at some period of time, there was a political committee for the Moslem Brothers and among its members were Wahib Dus and Akhnuk Louis Akhnukh. They were two members of the Moslem Brothers' Political Committee.

The people who brought them in as members of a political committee devoted to the call to Islam were not fanatics.

The slogan that has recently become widespread in Egypt, the slogan "factional strife," did not exist. There is no factional strife in Egypt. It never happened in Egypt that a Moslem would slaughter a Copt or a Copt would kill a Moslem. Rather, those are ordinary matters, as when a Moslem kills a Moslem, a Copt a Copt, or vice versa. These are very ordinary matters in social habits.

A country which has lived for 1,400 years far removed from this notion is not one where such an idea, the idea of factional strife, could arise suddenly.

Moslems, especially proselytizers, are very careful to make young people understand that non-Moslems have rights that must be respected, held inviolate and defended, and we are the people who are most entitled to do so.

In Egypt, thanks be to God, many churches exist and are being built. Egypt is a country of tolerance. If one of us goes to the Ministry of the Interior and looks at the number of permits that are given to build churches, he will find that that is tremendous.

I would Like Pope Shannudah To Come back

AL-MUSAWWAR: What harm would there be for the Moslems if there was a greater number of churches? Aren't churches places for the worship of God?

Al-Talmasani: Who said that Moslem proselytizers have fought the notion of building churches in Egypt? Churches have been built since olden times. Today our Christian brothers are getting what they want.

There is no factional strife. Sometimes there are two doctors, a Christian and a Moslem, and you will find that the Moslems are the overwhelming majority of the people visiting the Christian doctor. If there were factional strife or fanaticism, would I abandon a Moslem doctor and go to a Christian one?

Some people are inventing the idea that there is factional strife for us and perhaps many objectives are hidden, or matters which it is not my right to speak about because they touch upon sensitive points which might be hidden behind this notion or slogan. Why should we openly declare and state that there is "factional strife" that some Moslems and some Christians are engaged in? I wish you had visited me in al-Qasr al-'Ayni Hospital when there was a priest with me name of Samuel, pastor of a church in Alexandria, who told me "I had imagined that 'Umar al-Talmasani was a wild beast with blood dripping off his fingernails" because of what he had been told about me. He also said, "When I saw you I found that you were something completely different."

AL-MUSAWWAR: A direct question for Mr 'Umar: would it in any way harm you if Pope Shannudah emerged from his isolation and returned to his position?

Al-Talmasani: I would like that, if his return promoted stability, peace, tranquility and intensified solidarity.

AL-MUSAWWAR: Let us now move over to the subject of the application of Islamic law and start that with a general question: what is meant by an Islamic state? Is it a government of clerics?

Al-Talmasani: First, Islam does not recognize the expression "clerics." Every Moslem is a cleric. Islam is a belief and a system of law. Belief concerns how I should worship God properly, devote myself to him in unification, and consecrate my orientation toward him. My sincerity, my conscience and my intent from within are what are being observed, and I must always be careful that they remain clean and pure lest I be rebuked for any position.

This is what belief is concerned with.

Islamic law concerns dealings among people. In Islamic jurisprudence they make a distinction between worship and dealings with people, although Islam must be taken in its entirety. If we go back to the Islamic state, whose import is that people should be governed by what has been revealed in God's book, you will realize that socialist principles and even what they say about Marxism are derived from and nourished by Islam: dissolution of differences, freedom, fairness, social justice--that is all derived from Islam, with one difference, which is that if a socialist

has a special interest and he wants to realize it, and is sure that the hand of the law will not reach him, he will realize this interest, even if that is in violation of his socialist principles, while Moslems know that almighty glorious God is watching over them and observing them, is closer to them than a jugular vein, stands between man and his heart and knows secrets and what has been hidden: they would not dare to violate any of Islam's rules secretly, even where the ruler is powerless, because they know that there is a greater ruler who absolutely will not let them alone and will hold them to account.

That is the difference between Islam and other precepts. We want freedom, equality and a blessed, happy, auspicious social life. We aspire to rid the country of poor people, the needy and the wretched. Islam calls for all this. While other creeds call for this, Islam has outstripped all of them and has established the notion of divine surveillance over all this. Through this notion, the commanders of the faithful presided over the state not because they were the people most entitled to be the heads but because Islam specifies rights for God almighty and rights for his servants.

God's rights consist, for instance, of prayer: I must pray to God. The religious jurists have addressed themselves to this point and have said that almighty glorious God's rights are based on generosity: I might not pray but God might forgive me. As for the rights of his servants, there are based on withholding, in the sense that all parties adhere to their own rights.

In order for a Moslem ruler to be successful in ruling an Islamic country, he must treat people equally in terms of rights and obligations.

I cannot find a single existing country or regime which I could describe as a total democracy, because constitutions are set out and are sometimes violated. In the United States, for example, though everyone is equal in rights and obligations, we find that black people are not treated the way white people are. Islam does not recognize discrimination and treats us all equally.

As for constitutions set out by man, those are as good as the persons who set them out are capable of making them, within the limits of their thinking and within the limits of their intelligence, whereas the divine constitution is different, because the one who set it out is the creator, and he knows what is harmful and what is beneficial and does not show partiality to one side against another or one group against another, but has set the constitution out for all creation, in the form of Moslems, Christians, Jews, Buddhists and Druzes. Almighty glorious God asks the prophet a disapproving question in the holy Koran: "Are you compelling people to be devout? You do not dominate them. Rather, you have only the gift of proclamation, while I am the bringer of good and bad tidings." Thus Islam in the state treats all people and every person and his belief equally, and we are compelled to let people worship as they wish, unless if you are a Moslem and you renounce Islam--that is, as long as you have become a Moslem and subjected yourself to the laws of Islam. If you are not a Moslem you can remain as you are your whole life and your offspring may also, and no one will hold you to account because the accounting takes place in the hereafter.

Moslem rulers do not recognize kinship, bonds, relations by marriage or any of these notions which represent a way of preferring some people over others.

However, what happens in most countries of the world, and not just in Egypt, is that the rulers become alienated from this concept. Islamic states do not recognize kinship or relations by marriage, but they do recognize the competent man in the right place, whatever his status might be, even if he is an adversary of the commander of the faithful.

The Islamic state is concerned with economic, social, moral and ideological aspects and with providing man with everything that can be provided as humans who enjoy all their rights, and there is no limit to freedom unless you clash with the rights and interests of others.

#### I Do Not Approve of What Is Happening in Iran

AL-MUSAWWAR: Is it necessary that there be a religious government in order to establish an Islamic state?

Al-Talmasani: There is no such thing as a religious government, because the notion of religious government is very serious. What is actually meant by governance by religion or governance by Islam is that the ruler apply God's law, whoever that ruler might be, even if it is an Abyssinian slave who is your overseer.

AL-MUSAWWAR: What is your opinion on what is going on now in Iran? What lessons are to be drawn from it?

Al-Talmasani: First, the Iranians embrace the Shiite creed and we are Sunnites. The dispute that exists between the Shiites and the Sunnites, whose source was the Shiites, not the Sunnites, is deep and serious.

When Khomeyni set off the revolution, we supported him and stood alongside him, in spite of the radical difference in beliefs that exists between the Shiites and the Sunnites. We supported him because there was an oppressed people whose ruler visited the most vicious and vile oppression upon them. When these people were able to get rid of this oppression, we could not blame them for it. We supported them from the political standpoint, because an oppressed people managed to get rid of an oppressive ruler and regain their freedom. However, from the standpoint of belief, the Sunnite creed is one thing and the Shiite creed is something else. The descriptions of the slaughters and the grave things that are going on now in Iran I thought were exaggerated, but people in whom I have the utmost trust, who go back and forth between Iran and other places, have confirmed that much of what is published in the press is true, and I do not approve of that.

AL-MUSAWWAR: So the idea of a government of clerics is not the optimum notion of an Islamic state. Can what is going on in Iran today be considered an example of an Islamic state in your view?

Al-Talmasani: No.

AL-MUSAWWAR: Why not?

Al-Talmasani: Because God's law is not being applied there. All I ask of a ruler is that God's law be applied. That is all that concerns me in a ruler, whether he is a Turk, a Westerner, wears a turban or is barefoot, just that he applies God's law.

AL-MUSAWWAR: Khomeyni's problem is that he says that he is speaking in the name of God.

Al-Talmasani: That is his own problem and he, not Islam, bears the responsibility for it. Everyone who appeals for a specific call is to be held to task for it.

AL-MUSAWWAR: What do you hold against Khomeyni's regime now, that should make Moslems avoid it?

Al-Talmasani: First, I do not approve of it when people are treated so harshly by their rulers. Everyone in the world has the right to oppose a ruler as he wishes. When 'Umar ibn al-Khattab called for his word to be heard and obeyed, one of those in attendance rose up and said "I am not hearing or obeying your word." He asked him why not. The man answered by saying "You gave me a single robe while you are wearing two, so how can I hear you?" 'Umar called his son 'Abdallah and asked him to explain the matter. He told them, "My father is very tall and the robe that he got was not big enough for him, so I gave him mine." The bedouin then said "Now we can hear and obey."

Therefore Islam does not have the violence that we hear is going on now in Iran, in the form I read about and hear about, which does not please me.

There Is No Sanctity for a Ruler or for the Prophet, on Whom Be Prayers and Peace

AL-MUSAWWAR: However, in an Islamic state the ruler must be the imam. This precisely is the subject of the confusion, because the imam is a delegated person.

Al-Talmasani: Gentlemen, why is a Moslem ruler asked to be an imam for the benefit of the people and the benefit of the Moslems? Because if I am well versed in religious law, have memorized God's book, and understand the sayings and doings of the noble prophet, I can apply the provisions of Islamic law better than can people who are ignorant of these rules.

AL-MUSAWWAR: Do you believe that the imam is to be favored because he is talking in the name of God?

Al-Talmasani: No, none of us speaks in the name of God. There is no sanctity to the ruler or to God's prophet, on whom be prayers and peace, who said, "I am only a human being like you." He did not say "I am sacred." Sanctity belongs only to almighty glorious God. If one imagines that there is sanctity to the prophet or the ruler, that is to be rejected.

AL-MUSAWWAR: So Islam does not stipulate specific fixed institutions for the Islamic state and does not stipulate a specific style for the establishment of such a state.

Al-Talmasani: Islam does not specify that you are making Islam responsible for more than it is responsible for. Islam has said that whoever rules you must be aware of the affairs of your religion, not ignorant, as has been the case in some Islamic countries. The people who are ruling us now do not have a broad knowledge of Islamic law because if they had been deeply versed in jurisprudence they would not have done what they did. If we choose an aware person who is well informed of the affairs of his religion, he will be fit to rule, and if no one possesses these characteristics we will choose a council of Islamic jurists for him who will help him rule and issue legislation, provisions and laws. This is in the interests of the state and not in the interests of the imam.

AL-MUSAWWAR: The confusion over the notion of the Islamic state is very odd.

Al-Talmasani: That is not Islam's fault.

Dr Jamal: In reality the notion of the Islamic state does indeed lead many researchers into some confusion. This occurs sometimes in connection with the Islamic state as some people imagine it and the existing regimes, be they democratic or other.

The definition of an Islamic state, put simply, is a state that establishes the law of Islam and its principles. In addition, it is not a condition that the ruler of the state meet more conditions than those that are proper for an engineer, doctor, officer or any other profession. Here we must draw attention to the Shiite and Sunnite creeds. The Shiites have an idea in which they believe most devoutly and which is one of the principles of their thinking: that is that the imam is designated. That started with their belief that the prophet recommended that 'Ali ibn Abu Talib become the imam, then that caused them to branch out into a designation related to the appointment of imams in anticipation of the appearance of the absent imam, who is to appear at the end of time in the name of the awaited Mahdi.

We, Sunnites, believe that the Islamic state is one which is careful to apply the rules of Islam (and, when we look at these rules we will find that all solid regimes in the world are careful about them): justice, equality among people, consultation, the public interest, its predominance over the private interest, the moral makeup of man in his life--all these principles exist in Islam. Therefore we cannot say that the Islamic state has a specific apparatus, a specific form, or a specific structure, because that truly is subject to circumstances. Rather, it is just sufficient for the state to apply Islamic teachings and be concerned with their application.

AL-MUSAWWAR: Is the Islamic state adverse to all terrestrial laws? What is the relationship between Islamic law and terrestrial law?

Al-Talmasani: It is not at all adverse. The constitution was smart to call to have Islamic law the main source of legislation but did not say the only source.

AL-MUSAWWAR: Why was it smart?

Al-Talmasani: Because the prophet, on whom be God's prayers and peace, says "Wisdom is random; the devout person will receive it wherever he finds it." That

is, if you find America, for example, inventing space ships, shall I say that Islamic law prohibits space ships? Absolutely not. In fact, I can go farther than that. The prophet, may God's prayers and peace be upon him, asked Hadhifah ibn al-Yaman to learn Hebrew in 17 days, and told him "Learn it because we are going to be in correspondence with many Jews and we will have to know their language." Therefore it is desirable that we know everything, even if we do so through beneficial terrestrial laws.

#### It Is Not Possible To Apply Islamic Law All at Once

AL-MUSAWWAR: Therefore the issue is not one of applying Islamic law immediately.

Al-Talmasani: No, no one has said it was.

Dr Jamal: The dimensions of the issue must be understood. The fact is that when you speak of an Islamic state and a non-Islamic state, we must understand the dimensions of the issue precisely. When we ask if Islamic law is hostile to any terrestrial law, it is not, because if we make a list of the laws in the state we will find that the most proper and the best laws in all fields have a constant origin, in the sense that when we call for the application of Islamic law that does not in any way mean that every law in the country is contradictory to Islamic law.

AL-MUSAWWAR: Perhaps there is some degree of impossibility in applying Islamic punishments in some areas, such as cutting off people's hands.

Al-Talmasani: Religion orders us to do so. Why should I cut off a person's hand in the case of a theft? Not just to protect property, but, what is more noble than that, to maintain security in the country. Many crimes are committed against property, such as betrayal of trust, fraud, and forgery, but Islamic law does not cut off a thief's hand to protect property. Man is nobler than property in God's eye, and a thief's hand is not cut off so we can live in a distorted society, as one of the paramount Shaykhs of al-Azhar has said.

AL-MUSAWWAR: There are social circumstances which have put a stop to this cutting off of people's hands, even in Islam.

Dr Jamal: Islam has created a kind of bond as a condition for applying Islamic punishments.

AL-MUSAWWAR: Therefore there are requirements, conditions and social needs that must be met before Islamic punishments are applied.

Al-Talmasani: Islam looks after all this in all circumstances and in all history. This religion has been revealed to people from the time it was first revealed until this moment.

AL-MUSAWWAR: 'Umar ibn al-Khattab stopped this Islamic punishment out of social necessity.

Al-Talmasani: The ruler tells me "I believe that this cutting off of people's hands is almighty glorious God's business and I as a Moslem ruler am obligated to

carry out this ruling. However, there are circumstances which require that I deal with this issue in a specific manner because thus and such will result from it." For example, the matter of commanding the commendable and prohibiting the reprehensible. If the reprehensible will cause 50 percent of the damage but prohibiting the reprehensible will cause 60 percent of the damage, one must not prohibit the reprehensible; one must leave it, because the harm it does will be less than what its prohibition will entail.

Ibn Taymiyah once saw a group of Mongol soldiers getting drunk and ordered the people who were with him to leave them to their own business, because, if they sobered up they would go into Moslems' homes, violate free men and steal people's property.

Islam watches over everything but the people who rule most unfortunately do not want to realize that. Suffice it for me to point out that the ruler says "We want to apply God's punishments but there are requirements that we must meet beforehand."

#### What I Am Asking from President Mubarak

AL-MUSAWWAR: We consider that you are very enthusiastic about President Mubarak. We do not believe that President Mubarak has given you more than the late President al-Sadat did; the former released you from prison and the latter did the same. What are the justifications for this enthusiasm and intense optimism?

Al-Talmasani: As a Moslem, when I see a man doing good things I tell him "May God cause your kind to multiply, help you and preserve you in this country." That is what I told Husni Mubarak.

I told Him, "You have released some people, but that is not enough. You must release every detained person or prisoner, and I ask God to help you in this and give you success in it; as long as you are proceeding along this proper road everyone will be pleased with you."

AL-MUSAWWAR: What priorities do you consider President Mubarak is faced with? What should he do?

Al-Talmasani: First, the head of the state is the head of the party, which is the majority governing party, and if he confines himself to the party and the party's view, his rule will not correspond to reality.

The country is full of party heads, intellectual leaders and ideologues; it would be good for the president to meet every month or two with a group of these people, hold discussions with them, and have them hold discussions with him, so they can present him with their ideas, he can present them with his, and, if he finds anything proper in their ideas, adopt them.

The prime minister must also meet with the leaders of the parties, people with opposing views and all such people. I knew Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din, Hilmu Murad, and many leftists in prison, and I can testify that I found leftists who were most nationalistic, learned and gracious.

I tell the chief of state that he should constantly meet with these people while they are out of power.

What concerns us is that Egypt be above parties. If we gather together in regular meetings, we might produce sound ideas or solid ideas with which to deal with any issue that crops up.

I tell the president and the prime minister, "Put honest people in the consumer societies who do not meddle with the people's livelihood, and you will find that many complaints will disappear.

I also consider that the existing institutions should remain as they are. There is no need now for change and renovation in the People's Assembly or the Council of Ministers, lest I give people outside Egypt a chance to talk about a shakeup in conditions.

For example, if the opposition parties, intellectual leaders and the National Party meet in quiet, dignified, family-style gatherings, the People's Assembly will be able to last one term, or two or three, because everyone's goal is the same; people's intentions are directed toward what is beneficial.

I might be told "You are a fantasist and you are living in a world of allegories." I cannot live without such allegories.

AL-MUSAWWAR: What did you tell President Mubarak about factional strife?

Al-Talmasani: I told him "This slogan does not exist and is without basis. Do not believe that there is any factional strife. Do not establish a pattern of conduct or issue laws on the basis of such a feeling."

Prepared To Demand the Return of Pope Shannudah from the Highest Minaret

AL-MUSAWWAR: Can we tell President Mubarak that 'Umar al-Talmasani would not be uneasy if Pope Shannudah came out of isolation?

Al-Talmasani: Of course, and if you wish I am prepared to state that on the highest minaret. It would not do me any harm if Pope Shannudah came out or went back to his position on condition that he just remain a religious head.

I would like the constitution to contain a provision making anyone who suspends the constitution, whatever his position may be, punishable for a felony.

I also ask that the ministries not be centered in Cairo.

I would like the loans coming in from abroad to be put under close observation, so that they will be equal to the country's needs and will not be meddled with by private interests.

On the recent case, the Rashad 'Uthman case, I was happy to hear the president say "I will not interfere with the judiciary." If he follows through on that, you will see that the Rashad 'Uthman case will shake the whole country, because it will drag in names and persons whom people had not been thinking of.

With regard to government promotions, the best system is seniority, because it brings complete justice. It might yield some errors, but it brings about a form of justice that affects the active, the stupid, the lazy and the independent-minded.

AL-MUSAWWAR: There is a fact which must be stated, that is that even those of us who are active in public work and follow up on everything had had confused ideas about you. Today our conception is clear. It is the conception of a moderate Islamic thinker who is trying to bring happiness to his nation, is concerned with Egypt's national unity and is concerned about standing up to terror, however it may be concealed under any appeal. Let me thank you for agreeing to do us the honor of coming to the al-Hilal House and presenting these calm, mature, moderate views that have had as their objective the interests of the country and the interests of the nation above all else. I can reassure you that you have succeeded in eliminating the confusion within us and winning us over to your ranks. AL-MUSAWWAR is open to you at any time until you return to your publication.

Al-Talmasani: May God reward you with bounties. I give thanks to God, and to you for opening your hearts to me.

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## HOUSING MINISTER CALLS FOR NATIONAL BUILDING DEVELOPMENT POLICY

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 22 Jan 82 p 9

/Article by Muhammad Zayid: "A Conception on Carrying out a National Housing Policy Submitted by the Housing Minister with a Request for Opinions and Recommendations on the Subject from Everyone"/

/Text/ We have always told decisionmakers: Also ask experts, and people who deal with the problem and have their hands in the fire, before officially issuing your "final plan" for dealing with the problem--especially if it is a major type of problem, national in character. Opening the door in this way to derive benefit from every opinion or constructive recommendation will give the "moment of resolution" greater immunity from elements of weakness.

Eng Hasballah al-Kafrawi, the minister of redevelopment and the minister of state for housing, has pursued a new tradition, by which he has achieved what we had asked and hoped for.

He has brought forth the goals specified by the national housing policy, which a committee had been formed to set forth in 1979, has set out a "conception" of a program of execution for it, and has demanded that before the "conception" is transformed into a "decision" it be presented for discussion on the broadest scale. He asked that the greatest possible amount of opinions and recommendations be received on it from people--opinion-makers, experts and consultants and the actual people who are suffering from the housing crisis that the minister in charge describes as "tangible and urgent."

AL-AHRAM is playing its part here by setting the "conception" before society, in broad hopes that it will be given a positive discussion. One of the most serious points is that the rate of housing unit construction in the urban areas of Egypt is dropping according to the recorded statistics of the study, from seven units per 1,000 inhabitants in 1960 to no more than 1.5 units per 1,000 in 1978, while the rate in most countries of the world ranges from seven to 10 housing units, and in some cases reaches 13 per 1,000 inhabitants.

It is not enough to have a national housing plan specifying that our housing needs will be 2.6 million units by 2000, on grounds that our population will reach 66 million, and to have construction proceed at a rate of 215,000 housing units after 2000, increasing annually in accordance with the population increase.

It is not enough, either, to have the plan specify that housing does not just mean providing dwellings but also extends to include the proper residential environment in general and the services individuals and families require. At the same time, one must preserve the existing housing and extend the period of its use by overall maintenance, since it is a national resource.

To guarantee that these goals are achieved, an executive program must be set out for them in which the government's role and the people's role will be spelled out, and this is what the housing minister is submitting for discussion.

Concerning the role of the government and the private sector in coping with the problem since 1970, statistics show that the total housing units that the public sector built in 1970-71 did not exceed 5,250, as compared with 22,520 units which the private sector constructed. In 10 years, the number of units the private sector built rose to 136,232 in 1980-81 and the number of units the public sector built in housing in the redevelopment areas in the governorates leapt to 19,588.

In the light of these figures, Eng Hasballah al-Kifrawi, the minister of redevelopment and the minister of state for housing, says that the government will not be able to meet demands for the construction of further housing units in addition to its other commitments in the area of utilities and other basic housing requirements.

Therefore, the minister adds, in the vision which he sets forth for general discussion, one must review the government's role with respect to housing so that the private sector will bear the main burden in housing unit construction, as it is better able to do so than the government or the public sector.

On these grounds, the housing minister spells out the government's role as one of assuming eight responsibilities.

#### First, Performance of Studies on the Problem

These will be from the economic and engineering standpoints, so that we can set out an integrated conception of the population distribution among the various areas of the republic in the future and determine their essential housing needs, in accordance with the anticipated development of each area, while setting out priorities in construction. The ministry has actually contracted with an American-Egyptian statistical firm to make an integrated study on population redistribution in urban areas in accordance with future anticipated economic development; the study is nearly finished and is expected to be done in February.

In the same sense, the situation requires an improvement in designs. In this context, the minister considers that a review should be made of the components of the housing units, that living rooms and dining rooms should be dispensed with, and one should settle on a family room of appropriate size, using standard units in horizontal sections and vertical segments to facilitate manufacture and reduce costs, imposing standardization of carpentry work and sanitary and electric components, producing furniture patterns that will be compatible with the development of family life, achieving flexibility of use and ease in cleaning, and also setting forth model design patterns that are in keeping with the desires and needs of various families, along with construction drawings and specifications that will make matters easy for people who want to build and guarantee a civilized general appearance for towns.

## Second, Procurement of Land for Housing

We can begin this task by carrying out a comprehensive survey of the available land suitable for development and adopting serious decisive measures to benefit from that. Here, in the minister of housing's vision, one must make use of land that some military activities and cemeteries had been occupying in towns, moving these activities outside the built-up agglomerations. It is also necessary to issue the requisite legislation to guarantee that citizens are given incentives to use their land within built-up agglomerations in the best manner, provided that local government agencies and landowners be given the responsibility of providing it and equipping it with utilities within current built-up agglomerations and that the central agencies be given the responsibility of providing land in new towns and built-up agglomerations. It is also necessary to restrict all new development extensions to desert areas and idle land that is not fit for farming.

In this regard, the minister's vision includes the elimination of incursions on government and public sector properties, the stiffening of penalties on people committing violations, the provision of rules guaranteeing that there is no trafficking in lands that are obtained by the government, its bodies or the public sector companies, the acceleration by local government agencies of the preparation of plans that will lead construction extensions in the right direction, a guarantee that public utilities will be built in accordance with the program specified, and also the pricing of land owned by the government, local government agencies or the public sector in accordance with the purposes for which it is to be used, in a manner that will realize social integration so that land allotted to tourism, and luxury and administrative housing will bear part of the burdens that the land for housing and low-cost housing in particular bear. It is also necessary to take steps to limit the growth of industrial areas within existing housing agglomerations.

## Third, Provision of Utilities

Since the existing utilities no longer meet the demands of the masses and it will require effort, time and investments of close to 3 billion pounds to overcome their accumulated defects and upgrade them, the central government and local government agencies will assume the responsibility for providing basic utilities. To carry this out, the minister of state for housing stipulates a number of approaches, including:

The effort to benefit from foreign investments, through grants and loans, as additional resources for developing these utilities. Some of this aid has actually been received for sewage and water utilities in Cairo, Alexandria and the towns on the canal and in the Governorates of al-Buhayrah and Kafr al-Shaykh.

Guidance of spending on projects that are underway, concentrating that on completing projects where great strides have been made in construction.

Increasing the capacity of existing utilities by developing them and using modern technological methods in them, raising their capacity for the lowest possible investment.

Guiding water use, limiting loss and waste, and reviewing the application of the policy of /water use/ categories.

Avoiding the disposal of all liquid wastes before they are totally purified, in projects that exist now and in new projects, while reusing purified water for the reclamation and new farming of land whenever that is possible, to protect citizens' health, avoid polluting the environment and guide water use.

In addition to that, the ministry has set forth a long-range plan to raise rates of water production in Cairo, Alexandria and the provinces and increase it by about 3 million cubic meters per day while replacing delapidated systems of pipe and bringing drinking water to remote or deprived areas. In accordance with this plan, the rate of coverage in the rural areas will come to about 85 percent of the population of the republic by the end of the next 5 years and 100 percent in 2000, and the per capita consumption rate in the provinces will rise from 100 to 200 liters per day. Agreement has been reached with the World Bank to provide a loan of \$55 million to construct the al-Buhayrah Governorate projects and agreement has been reached in principle with the government of Germany to provide a similar loan of 68 million marks for the construction of projects in Kafr al-Shaykh.

In the area of sewers and sanitary drainage, the ministry's programs are aimed at repairing and bolstering existing utilities in 25 towns besides Cairo and Alexandria, converting the projects to reduce water leakage to sanitary drainage projects in 13 towns, extending sanitary sewage and drainage service to 40 additional towns whose populations exceed 40,000 each in the next 5 years, and connecting sanitary sewage and drainage service to all districts in the governorates by 1990.

There is no doubt that the situation will require efforts to contact friendly countries in order to attempt to reach agreement with them on participating in execution of this plan. The ministry has actually begun to make contacts with the ambassadors of all countries in Western Europe, the United States, Japan and Australia to learn about possibilities for their helping with the execution of the proposed plan. The ministry has received positive responses from some of these countries; the Governorates of al-Buhayrah, Kafr al-Shaykh, Suez, Port Said, al-Isma'iliyah, Cairo, Alexandria, al-Fayyam, Bani Suwayf, al-Minya and al-Sharqiyah have been covered so far.

#### Fourth, Securing the Necessary Financing

Here, in Eng Hasaballah al-Kafrawi's view, it is necessary to exploit the Egyptians' deep-rooted desire and love of ownership of their own housing as one element to help solve the problem. The minister spells out the ministry's policy in securing this financing:

All major utility projects will be financed by allocations listed in the government budget each year. Internal utilities may be built with easy-term loans the government allocates annually, provided that they be paid out of receipts from land sales.

Agencies which are concerned with mobilizing savings, distributing loans to citizens, spreading their services out about the republic and expanding them will receive support so that they will not just be confined to loans but will also extend to everything related to the construction process.

Proceeding from this premise, the government allocated loans to low-cost, intermediate and above-intermediate housing projects which in their totality came to about 225 million pounds in 1980-81. These rose to 450 million pounds in 1981-82.

The ministry has also aimed at supporting the General Building and Housing Cooperative Society and expanding the base of services it offers to extend to the preparation of drawings and designs, the formation of cooperative societies, the presentation of projects and supervision of their construction on behalf of cooperatives. The authority has the goal of establishing branches for itself in the governorates.

It was necessary that legislation accompany this policy which would provide incentives to guarantee that it was carried out; this prompted the ministry to issue Law 14 for 1981 on housing cooperatives, organizing for the first time rules to guarantee that they proceed in the proper framework sketched out for them.

As a result of this policy, the authority's activity has grown greatly in the past 2 years; the total number of units the authority is constructing or whose construction it is supervising came to about 114,000 units, for a total cost of about 650 million pounds.

The ministry has established a development and housing bank as one project subject to Law 43 on the investment of Arab capital, in participation with some public sector bodies and companies with the objective of supporting the agencies mobilizing citizens' savings and securing the financing needed for housing projects for people with limited incomes, in order to be able to provide them with residential units, without down payments, in instalments of about one-quarter the beneficiaries' salaries.

The Housing Bank's commitments so far come to the construction of about 46,596 housing units whose total value comes to 257.7 million pounds. The ministry intends to study methods for developing activity in the bank and introducing new systems of work methods in it which will ensure that the necessary financing is provided to build housing units by various methods that are in keeping with the various circumstances and incomes of people who want housing.

#### Fifth, Providing Building Materials

The ministry's plan in this field is aimed at expanding the local production of these materials to the point where it will cover local consumption requirements and realize a reasonable export surplus.

Cement: projects underway on that will result in increasing local cement production from 3.7 million tons to about 19 million tons in 1984-85.

**Brick:** the plan set forth for that will result in the possibility of dispensing with the use of red brick in construction for good by 1984-85.

**Gypsum:** local production of this will rise from 360,000 to about 1.5 million tons.

**Pipes:** the establishment of four new lines to produce cement pipes with a capacity of 90,000 tons per year was assigned and production in the Cement Pipe and Polyester Pipe Companies in 10 Ramadan City has started.

#### Sixth, Development of the Building Sector

In spite of the obstacles they have faced, contracting companies have been able to carry out activities totalling 760 million pounds or 116 percent of the 1980-81 target within the republic. In order to develop and support this sector, the minister of housing, in his conception, which is set forth for discussion, proposes:

Supporting contracting activity in the private sector and working to organize it and classify contractors in accordance with their ability to guarantee the completion of the work on sound technical foundations, while avoiding outsiders.

Encouraging foreign contracting firms to establish joint contracting firms in Egypt in accordance with Law 43 for 1974 in order to transfer technology in the construction field. The ministry has actually given agreement to the construction of more than 100 contracting companies in accordance with the provisions of this law.

Providing the investments needed for public sector contracting companies to import modern construction ingredients, provide cash liquidity, and pay these companies' obligations to the government and local administration agencies.

Developing the public contracting sector, introducing modern methods in it by developing quarries, establishing central mixing centers in the midst of development areas, establishing shops to cut and provide reinforcement iron so that that will be in keeping with designs, to save effort and loss, using metal drayers, winches and elevators for persons and materials, and establishing specialized companies that will be in charge of arranging and operating heavy equipment at jobsites to carry out the services required of them on a rental basis.

The ministry, in participation with the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, has assigned a joint consulting firm to conduct a comprehensive study of the contracting sector in Egypt. This study concluded with a number of recommendations that are being evaluated, and a symposium will be held at the end of this month in which all ministries concerned will participate to discuss and approve the consulting firm's recommendations.

#### Seventh, Procuring Technical Labor

In view of the shortfall in the volume of labor relative to the volume of construction, which is increasing annually, through the emigration of many skilled

laborers to work abroad, a lack of receptivity to gaining proficiency in building trades, and the decline in the level of performance, the situation, in the housing minister's view, requires:

Expansion of vocational training centers, while granting incentives to increase the desire to enroll in them and develop training systems to graduate specialized workers in various vocations along with practical training at worksites with public sector contracting firms upon graduation, in order to round out skills from the practical standpoint. The ministry has set out a plan to build 65 training centers, of which 19 have been completed and have graduated about 50,000 craftsmen so far. The plan also includes the construction of three trainers' training centers; as soon as execution of the plan is completed, the number of graduates will rise to 50,000 per year.

Development of avocational development in the field of basic education, with an orientation toward construction trades, in schools to attract personnel who pursue these crafts as avocations, in addition to opening summer vacation trade schools to accommodate students' activities in fruitful vocational training, while granting encouragement bonuses. One can benefit from these trainees in simple maintenance work at least in the areas where they live.

It may be considered that there is a possibility of studying the use of people discharged from the armed forces by training them in construction activities in the year prior to their discharge and reviewing the reorganization of vocational apprenticeship for workers' children during and after the general education period.

Development of technical education, in a manner which will enable it to cover the obvious shortage in skills among foremen at sites and in specialized construction, ordinary and installation activities. The situation will require that their education be for a 3-year period following preparatory school, provided that the graduate's salary be given obvious bonuses in comparison with prevailing labor wages as an incentive to encourage an orientation toward these vital occupations, in the context of personnel who will observe their responsibilities.

#### Eighth, Coordinating Tasks and Legislation

In the conception which Eng Hasaballah al-Kafrawi is submitting for discussion, the government must play the role of group leader in coordinating the various bodies on which the burden of carrying out housing plans and projects lies through legislation, guidance, or oversight, guaranteeing that the group is pointed in a direction which will achieve the desired goals.

The door is now open to receive all opinions and recommendations on the conception the minister of housing has set forth.

#### Labor in the Saqr Plant

Commenting on what was published in AL-AHRAM's symposium on technical labor regarding the transfer of 100 technical workers in the Saqr plant to Kitabyan in the period between 1 January 1981 and the date of publication, the ratio is now one to two. Eng Muhammad 'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Baghdadi stressed that someone who had an assumed name had given this incorrect information.

GOVERNMENT EMBARKS ON NEW EFFORTS TO SOLVE PERSONNEL PROBLEMS

Cairo AKHBAR AL-YAWM in Arabic 30 Jan 82 p 3

/Article by 'Abd-al-'Ati Hamid: "A 4-Hour Conversation with the Chief of the Agency in Charge of Employees: The Vicious Circle of the Employees' Laws Has Ended!"/

/Excerpt/ The vicious circle of the laws in which employees have been bogged down has ended!

Law 112 and Law 114 are the last laws in Egypt to be settled. Thus we are putting an end to the legacy left over from the past 20 years as a result of the application of laws full of discrepancies. The law has covered a great stage along the road of /dealing with/ employment nonadvancement and employment reform, by supporting bodies that are short on /vacant/ grades to which to hasten to promote their employees. Favoritism and "zucchini" have disappeared, and reports on 80 percent of the employees in Egypt are at grade "excellent".

Dr Hasan Tawfiq, chairman of the Central Organization and Management Agency, disclosed many of the secrets of jobs in the government and the public sector. He said, "Why should we lay every error and shortcoming on a hanger? They say that there are shortages of employees, but in fact there is a surplus. They always use this expression--'For heaven's sake, the resources are there.' The fact is that the resources are available but there is abuse. The third hanger is bills. However a successful manager can act successfully in the context of the bills.

"We will open 10 training centers in the ministries to create competent employees and an employees' training center will also be opened in each governorate."

The chairman of the Central Organization and Management Agency requested that every job entity take the initiative of setting forth a system for incentives, present it to the agency, and request financial allocations. He stressed that the agency would absolutely not oppose anybody's demand for allocations of financial incentives for its employees. In addition, it is also necessary to apply a system of encouragement rewards. The law stipulates these and stipulates that all bodies can give encouragement rewards to effective workers.

He said that the government is reviewing the issue of salaries as one of its objectives and is working to resolve it. Employees' salaries have been raised in

the last 2 years, and President Husni Mubarak has declared that he will not hesitate to raise or increase employees' salaries.

Before I went to meet Dr Hasan Tawfiq, I got in touch with a large number of specialized employee relations managers to ask them about the most important problems in the employee laws, starting with appointments, promotions, settlements, raises and so on.

I had many questions; the problems they talked about were numerous and the queries, regarding both the government and the public sector, which has about 4 million government and public sector employees, required explanations or specific responses.

At the Central Agency's administrative leaders' building, the meeting with the chief of the Central Organization and Management Organization that took place lasted 4 full hours!

I asked the chairman of the agency, "The successive laws on employees and the executive bills on those cause some employees, among them administrative experts themselves, to turn to computers to solve the logarithmic equations of the complex laws and executive bills. What is your opinion on that? Why don't we simplify the employees' laws and make things easier and more manageable?"

Dr Hasan Tawfiq said, "Before I answer that question, I would like to review the employee laws that have been issued. Before 1952 there were no explicit laws, in the sense of governing the relationship between the government and employees. Decrees were improvised and defective. When some employees complained about the patronage system that prevailed at that time and permitted the promotion of employees by three or four grades in a week--a fact which existed and has been proved and is not an exaggeration--the government called in an English expert name of Singer, and this expert offered two recommendations. First, it was necessary to have legislation regulating the relationship between the employee and the government agency, and, second, one had to establish an agency that would oversee the application of this law. The government adopted the two recommendations and the first law on a system of government employment, Law 210 for 1951, actually was issued. Then the government established the Employees' Bureau as the first agency to supervise employment affairs, or, as it is called, civil service. In 1964 Law 210 for 1951 on the Employees' Bureau itself was reviewed and new legislation was issued, Law 46 for 1964, eliminating the Employees' Bureau, whose place was taken by the Central Organization and Management Agency. In 1971 a review was again made of Law 46, in the light of its actual application; this law was abrogated and replaced by Law 58 for 1971. The most important thing contained in this law was the system of classes; that is, it tried to combine every three grades into a single class in order to allow employees to receive financial promotion, if not promotions in position. In 1978 again a review was made of Law 58, that was abrogated, and Law 47 for 1976 was issued. This law had two main goals as its objective, the elimination of the flaws that application had revealed in the case of Law 58 for 1971 and the introduction of new concepts into this law, most importantly the reduction of the number of grades; we now have six grades, aside from the grades for higher positions."

## Seven Causes of Vertigo

I asked, "Couldn't I claim that all officials or employees are staggering around in a state of vertigo over all these laws? All of these laws of course have their victims."

The man who is in charge of 3.4 million employees said, "These cases of vertigo have ended. There were no executive bills for the previous laws, but the new bill does have one. The agency has also issued a series of books and publications explaining some of the obscure points in the application of the law; when we find flaws we eliminate them at once. We are also training people to supervise the execution of the employment laws in the ministries, authorities and governorates, and we have issued what we call 'compendia,' such as the compendium on the Law of Non-advancement, the compendium of the Law on Employment Reform, the Compendium on Law 83, the amendments which have appeared in that, and the Council of State's judiciary rulings."

I said, "A question in passing on the Council of State: We have heard that the Central Agency is what is responsible for the Council of State's rulings. That is, it alone is the agency that gives rulings. Does that mean that the Council of State's authority will be abrogated with respect to rulings on employees?"

The chairman of organization and management said,

"That's not true. The Council of State is still the one that gives rulings, alone, as it did, on employees' problems."

I stated, "Let us go back to the subject. Why the compendia on employees' laws? Why don't you adopt what other countries such as America for example have come up with?"

He said, "The circumstances are different. For example, laws on employees in America started in 1880, and management science there started early. Laws on employees did not start until 1951 here. We have inherited problems bearing on employees, the most important being the matter of evaluating people's qualifications."

I said, "Before coming to see you, I got in touch with a large number of employee relations managers in various ministries; they said that the laws on employees were complex and they challenged the people who had made these laws to understand them!"

He said, "In my opinion, everything is clear and the laws are clear. When a question arises we answer it. We do not want certain people to hang their own mistakes on the hanger of the Central Agency."

I told Dr Hasan Tawfiq, "Employees generally go through a number of stages, starting with appointments, then promotions, then training, competence reports, incentives, wages and salaries, vacations and termination of service. Let us then start with appointments: are you satisfied with the system of employee appointments, or do you find there are technical flaws?"

He stated, "In general, the law regulates appointments, stipulating that appointments to the government take place at the lowest employment grades. In higher grades there are exceptions to this rule within limits of 10 percent of the vacant positions. This is the opposite of the situation that exists in the public sector, which is free to appoint its employees to any grade on the employment ladder."

I said, "Why don't you adopt the theory of the public sector in appointing employees?"

He said, "We are trying to combine the two systems, the system of appointment to the government and the system of appointment to the public sector--that is, a government job supervisor should make the appointments he feels proper within the limits of 10 percent of the vacant grades which it is proposed to add. However, this will lead us into big problems. Government employees are not happy with employees that are assigned to them from outside, and many complaints have been made."

I said, "Let us move over to the following point on employees, which is promotion."

He said, "There are two promotion systems. The first system is by absolute seniority, the other system is promotion by selection on the basis of competence, regardless of seniority. The government applies the former system, and the public sector applies the two together."

#### Leftovers from the Past

I said, "I would like a correct, scientific opinion on this, and your own opinion also."

He stated, "From the scientific standpoint, one can reconcile the two systems. In the lower grades, one can apply the system of promotion by seniority, and in the higher ones one can apply promotion by selection on the basis of competence, starting for example with the Grade Five and above, at escalating rates, reaching 100 percent in the case of higher management positions in Egypt."

I asked, "What about settlements?"

He stated, "The fact is that settlements are driving us out of our minds. In this regard there are relics from the past, such as the nonadvancement system, employment reform, Law 83, the statute on evaluating qualifications and so forth. We deal with these in a rather bold manner. Law 11 was issued, dealing with employment reform, Law 83 was issued, Law 135 was issued, and Law 112 was issued this year. We call these laws on settlements because they are outside the scope of the general law, which is Law 47, the one that has caused us all these problems! When we issued Law 112 we said that that was the last time the government would issue any other laws; we are prepared to make laws under other titles, and Law 112 is the end of the road. We agreed in the People's Assembly on this point when we issued Law 112.

"Therefore Law 112 and 114 are the last laws on settlements in Egypt covering the inherited burden of 20 years of the past. These are laws in which there undoubtedly

were discrepancies, because the basis was the evaluation of qualifications, and some employees were held back from promotion in the same grade for 10 or 12 years. This was the origin of the statement 'nonadvancement in employment' or 'employment reform.'"

I said, "I would like to learn what specific ministries have been unjustly treated in grades."

The chairman of the Central Agency said,

"I can now say that there is a degree of homogeneity. Fifteen or 20 years ago it was well known that the Ministry of Education was very backward in terms of promotions. Today it has almost caught up with the best ministries. The Ministry of Agriculture also was behind the Ministry of Education; today it has become reasonable. I agree with you that absolute equality is not possible. We are not stingy with any ministry that is short on /vacant/ grades."

#### Training and Problems

I said, "Let us move over to another point, which is the training of employees."

He said, "Training is very important. The armed forces are the supreme example that stands out before us in the peacetime training process. Would that we could reach 50 or 60 percent of this model! We started to establish a public administration institute in 1955; its goal was to train government officials. Training is a process that complements education, and we always say that training is a constant process from the cradle to the grave, that is, from the time the employee first joins the service until he is retired. Training, however, comes up against problems of financial resources. The special allocation for training in all government installations is just 1.6 million pounds, which is not enough. We in the agency started to draw up programs to prepare trainees 2 years ago, and we have established about 10 training centers in the ministries as well, in addition to a training center in each governorate. God willing, 1982 will be the year of training as far as the agency goes, and we will concentrate on this process. This year we will be embarking on a process known as transformational training. In the government, for example, there are about 160,000 intermediate messengers in the form of young people less than 20 years old; in some schools we find that there are more messengers than teachers. In the health units we find that there are more servants than orderlies or doctors. In the mosques we find that there are 10 or 12 employees. I would like to ask what all these people are doing! We agreed with the Ministry of Redevelopment that it would start doubling the number of people it trains in construction trades in which there is an actual shortage and this 1 January we started to suspend appointments to messengers' positions because of their large numbers."

#### Bribery and Favoritism

I asked, "Let us move over to another point which is of concern to employees, which is the competence report, or secret reports."

Dr Hasan Tawfiq said, "Competence reports are a scientific method that is applied in Egypt and most countries of the world to gauge the competence of employees. However, we have received objections and criticisms from employees to the effect that direct supervisors engage in 'bribery and favoritism' with some people at the expense of others. I say that that is not true, for a simple reason, which is that 80 percent of the employees in Egypt attain excellent grades in their reports, so where is the favoritism in that? It is clear that excellent grades thus make up a high proportion. The proportion of excellent grades ought to be 40 or 50 percent at most. In addition to that, there are adequate guarantees for employees in the law because the direct chief does not have a monopoly on approving the report presented--rather, he presents it to the employee relations committee, and the employee has the right to file a grievance before the administrative judiciary in the Council of State."

I said, "Another point arises: are the reports secret or open? I would like to know your opinion, on the basis of the period in which you have been working in the agency and your expertise as well."

He said, "My opinion is that reports should be secret. We experimented with open reports in the past, in Law 47, and that raised problems and embarrassed supervisors. We do not want to put chiefs in embarrassing positions vis-a-vis their subordinates. There was one good thing in the previous system, which exempted employees who received poor reports. They ought to be warned and notified of the reports, at least, by being told, 'Watch out, you are a person whose performance is not at the desired level, and therefore you must improve your performance.'"

#### Incentives Are Important

I asked, "What about incentives in the case of government and public sector employees?"

He said, "The law has opened the door to incentives wide. I am in favor of the system of incentives and say that we must expand the incentive system to its maximum limits. Every body must take the initiative of setting out an objective incentive system and present it to the agency, while asking for financial authorizations. We absolutely do not oppose any body's requests for authorizations for financial incentives. There also are moral incentives. We are a people who are influenced by sweet talk."

I said, "Being frank, are you satisfied with employees' salaries in the government and public sector?"

He said, "There is a maxim which says 'stretch your feet to meet your blanket.' I cannot compare myself with Saudi Arabia, nor can I compare myself with the United States of America. These countries are advanced in terms of national income."

I asked, "What do employees do about inflation and increases in costs of living?"

He said, "There is no doubt that increased salaries are one of the goals the government is striving to achieve constantly because of the increases that have

occurred in the past 2 years. President Husni Mubarak has already declared that he will not hesitate to raise or increase employees' salaries if he can find a way to do so."

I said, "All right, let's move over to the next point, which is vacations. Don't you consider that there are many days off in Egypt?"

He said, "No, they aren't. That is, Fridays come to about 50 days a year; there are departments which have started giving 2 days of vacation, such as Electricity, the Central Agency, and other bodies. In America, for example, there are 2 days off. That is relaxing for the employee and consequently has an effect on output. Some trade unions abroad are demanding a third day off. This will not harm output, because the use of modern technology has an effect on work, and work volume."

#### New Laws

I asked, "Let me ask Dr Hasan Tawfiq, chairman of the Central Organization and Management Agency, what he thinks about the drafts on employees." /Text ends at this point./

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FORMER POLITICAL LEADER EXTOLS PUBLIC SERVICE ACHIEVEMENTS

Cairo AKHBAR AL-YAWM in Arabic 30 Jan 82 p 4

/Article by Muhammad 'Abd-al-Qaddus: "Come Let Us Build up Egypt"/

/Text/ Building up Egypt will require effort on everyone's part, if the negative aspects are to be eliminated and the positive ones emphasized.

So says Eng Sayyid Mar'i, former chairman of the People's Assembly: "I do not like negative features.

"We have spent our whole lives mentioning negative features without pointing to the positive ones that have been achieved. Every era has its positive sides, and it also has its negative ones. We are human beings and are not immune from error. However, for us just to live in the present, enumerating and expanding on the negative features of the past, means destroying the present, and indeed the future as well. That does not mean that I am asking that we forget the negative points of the past. We must mention them, in order to benefit from their lessons to the degree that we will be careful not to repeat them. However, what I object to is when we destroy all the positive features in favor of the negative ones; that leads us to lose our confidence in ourselves and to reduce the number of people working seriously and competently. They exist everywhere.

A Positive Step I Hope Will Be Attained

"I would like first of all to point out that positive features in our modern history are numerous. They outweigh the negative ones. The positive points which I believe have been fully realized in the issues of democracy and development together, jointly constitute the issue of freedom in its integrated sense.

"Development, in my opinion, is achieved by emphasis on agriculture, expansion of the area under cultivation in a carefully studied, serious manner, and the proposal of a stable economic policy combining the public and private sectors. Before all else, we must realize exactly what we want. Otherwise, we will be deceiving ourselves with illusory figures that officials disclose, and it is necessary to rid oneself of the political and social hypocrisy from which we have suffered greatly."

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LONDON MAGAZINE ON EGYPTIAN OPPOSITION ABROAD

PM191631 London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic No 109, 13-19 Mar 82 pp 1-5

[Muhammad Ma'tuq article with contributions by Salih 'Awwad in Beirut and Jamal ar-Rawi in Paris]

[Excerpts] Is there -- Egyptian opposition abroad or are there only individual oppositionists?

Are these oppositionists still against the Egyptian regime after the assassination of President al-Sadat and the coming of President Husni Mubarak to power, or have they changed their stands and are they prepared to effect a reconciliation with the new regime and return to Egypt? What is the story of the Egyptian oppositionists abroad and what are the secrets behind the disagreements and divisions in their ranks? Will there be a reconciliation between Mubarak and the opposition? How and when?

AL-MAJALLAH in this reportage opens the file of the Egyptian opposition abroad and, through contacts and meetings in London, Paris and Beirut and some Arab capitals, reveals the facts on what is happening in the ranks of the opposition and the reality of their divisions and attitudes toward the new Egyptian regime, and enters their secret world. Here is the story:

What would happen to the Egyptian opposition abroad if President Husni Mubarak tomorrow called on Egyptian citizens in exile to return to participate in rebuilding the homeland?

This is not a hypothetical question. The new Egyptian president is following a new policy toward political opposition forces. Egyptian parties and organizations abroad have for some time been showing a more balanced attitude and flexibility toward his regime. Though some of them are "marking time" to see how the new regime's policy finally develops in the next 2 months, others have made up their mind in principle and are preparing to return on the basis that the contents of a letter can be judged from its introduction or that what has happened so far is enough as a beginning.

Information available to AL-MAJALLAH from well-informed sources indicates that secret contacts are being carried out with the Egyptian opposition abroad, with the support of the Egyptian Government, by a former member of the opposition working in the journalistic field. The contacts aim at convening a

reconciliation conference, after which the opposition leaders would return to Cairo. The sources say that President Mubarak is personally aware of these contacts and that he told the well-known journalist in question that he would prefer the reconciliation conference to be held in Cairo itself, though the opposition leaders abroad insist that the conference be held in an Arab or a European capital.

According to information available to AL-MAJALLAH, the stronger inclination is to hold the conference in Paris since that is the temporary home of a considerable number of opposition leaders and in view of the fact that holding the conference in an Arab capital would make it vulnerable to the influence of Arab divisions and would prevent certain persons thought to be favored by the new Egyptian regime from attending it.

Arab divisions were the reason why the Egyptian opposition remained weak and divided for some time until the Camp David agreement was signed and a unanimous Arab stand materialized, which facilitated the forming of a unified opposition front. But this remained bedevilled by divisions and so once again broke up.

The front was established in Damascus in the summer of 1980 under the name of the "Egyptian National Front." It included the communists, along with Islamic groups and the Nasirites. Its general secretariat included Sa'd al-Din ash-Shadhili, the former Egyptian chief of staff during the 1973 war.

Ash-Shadhili, who was appointed secretary general of the front, is a controversial person. His name reappeared in the world press following al-Sadat's assassination on 6 October last year. He was among those who hastened to declare their responsibility for the operation to assassinate the Egyptian president and declared that he was in control of the military uprising of which it was said that the assassination of al-Sadat was part.

Hardly a month had passed after the assassination of al-Sadat and after his deputy Husni Mubarak took over as his successor before the "Egyptian National Front" faced the severest test of its unity, as a result of which it became divided.

A leading Egyptian opposition figure has revealed to AL-MAJALLAH that the Egyptian Communist Party and the "Egyptian Assembly Abroad," after having observed al-Shadhili's stand following the assassination of al-Sadat and noticed his vacillating attitude toward the new Egyptian president, which varied from giving him some sort of support at the beginning to later declaring his opposition to him as being "an extension of al-Sadat's regime," sent a delegation to Algiers with a message to ash-Shadhili calling for an extraordinary meeting of the national front and laying down an agenda to discuss organizational relations within the front and the situation in Egypt in post-al-Sadat era. The meeting was held in Algiers in November. After meetings lasting several days which involved prolonged discussions of the pattern of organizational relations within the front, the Communist Party and the "Egyptian Assembly Abroad" withdrew from the front.

The Communist Party and the National Progressive Unionist Grouping [NPUG] Party did not wish then to release the news of the withdrawal of the two parties to the press. The two parties refrained from announcing the withdrawal in their news bulletins and circulars to Egyptian opposition forces and the Arab press. This was due, according to leading Egyptian opposition figures, to a "desire to preserve the internal situation in Egypt and in view of the successive developments that followed the death of al-Sadat." But the Communist Party and the NPUG informed a number of Arab countries, including Syria, Algeria and Libya, as well as Arab nationalist parties and the Palestinian resistance organizations of the new development.

The matter remained secret for more than 2 months. In mid-January this year a statement was distributed in Beirut signed by the "Egyptian National Front Secretariat General" announcing the freezing of the membership of the Egyptian Communist Party and the "Egyptian Assembly Abroad." In the meantime the Paris-published magazine AL-YASAR AL-'ARABI, whose editor is Michel Kamil, a member of the front's permanent secretariat, published in its January issue a brief report on an inside page under the title "Explaining a Situation," which said: "We have received from the Egyptian Communist Party and the Egyptian Assembly Abroad information indicating that they have severed their relations with the 'Egyptian National Front Abroad' as a result of certain quarters unilaterally making changes to bylaws, which is considered a violation of the rules previously agreed upon. This is in addition to differences over the pursuance of policies that go beyond the organizational and political framework which was unanimously endorsed in the fundamental documents establishing the front."

In the same issue of AL-YASAR AL-'ARABI, which is principally an organ of the Egyptian Communist Party, there was a call for the establishment of a "Democratic National Front." The paper described front action as "by nature easy action" and said that "it is not necessary for the others to agree with all my views and stands since it is possible to establish an alliance even on one single point on which there is agreement when there is mutual respect on the remaining issues, which are subject to difference."

The AL-YASAR AL-'ARABI article notes that Egypt has witnessed a new development-- "The assassination of al-Sadat and the emergence of a new presidential institution." It said that the formation of the "Democratic National Front" in question "would enable a real popular leadership capable of standing in one strong rank together with our (Communist) Party to emerge."

Sources in the Egyptian opposition abroad said that ash-Shadhili recently visited Damascus and made attempts to mend the rift in the front, of which he is still secretary general. But it is obvious that the attempt did not produce positive results. For a few days later Rif'at al-Sa'id, the NPUG assistant secretary general, visited Beirut and held a press conference at the headquarters of the Palestinian WAFA News Agency in which he launched an attack on ash-Shadhili. He said that ash-Shadhili speaks from a position of safety, accused him of speaking on behalf of non-Egyptians and said that he was out of touch with events. Hence his "gratuitous" statements.

He said: "If there is anybody who can prove to me that a single Egyptian organization out of the scores of organizations, including 72 religious opposition organizations, operates under ash-Shadhili's leadership, I will declare our party's commitment to this front."

Egyptian opposition sources abroad say that "immediately after its establishment and through the course of its action the Egyptian National Front proved to be an obstacle to Egyptian national action abroad and to be merely a means to project individual leadership and to deal with the Arab situation in a manner incompatible with the traditions of Egyptian national action."

#### **Story of Disagreement Between Ash-Shadhili and the Communists**

A leading official in the Egyptian opposition abroad has revealed to AL-MAJALLAH the real story of the disagreement between the Egyptian Communist Party and ash-Shadhili and the split that occurred in the Egyptian National Front. The official said there were several reasons for the dispute between the communists and ash-Shadhili, the most important being:

Ash-Shadhili held secret contacts with a number of Arab countries, which angered the communists because he did not inform them of these contacts and they learned of them indirectly.

Ash-Shadhili considers himself the only substitute for President Mubarak and behaves as if he were the future president of the Egyptian Republic. Ash-Shadhili also considers the other opposition forces abroad as having no substantial base in Egypt.

The communists regard ash-Shadhili as representing nobody inside Egypt; his total strength consists of individual contacts and personal friendships with some of the army officers, nothing more. The communists say that ash-Shadhili's strength in Libya--the headquarters of the national front of which he is the leader--is much less than people would imagine. His forces do not exceed 100 men, most of whom are reserve Egyptian soldiers working in Libya.

#### **Moscow's Instructions**

Furthermore, AL-MAJALLAH has learned from knowledgeable Egyptian sources that the Soviet Union officially asked the Egyptian Communist Party last month to adopt a positive attitude toward Mubarak, to stop campaigns against him and to seek to improve relations with the new regime. This squares with the existence of contacts between Cairo and Moscow on improving relations between the two countries.

Within this context AL-MAJALLAH has also learned that Col Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi met secretly with Michel Kamil 2 weeks ago in an attempt to restructure the Egyptian National Front under ash-Shadhili's leadership, but this attempt seems to have failed.

## London Opposition

London recently witnessed great activity by the Egyptian opposition and was visited by several opposition figures from Egypt. It has been reiterated that some of the lawyers defending al-Sadat's killers visited London and had contacts with the Egyptian opposition personalities here; they collected information and documents with a view to use them in the trials.

Opposition sources in London have also revealed to AL-MAJALLAH that the lawyers who distinguished themselves in defending Khalid al-Islambuli and his comrades, who are accused in the case of al-Sadat's assassination, are considered to belong to the Egyptian national trend ideologically opposed to al-Sadat.

One of the most prominent Egyptian opposition figures in London is 'Abd al-Majid Farid, who is described as representing the "socialist Nasirite trend." He is head of the center for Arab research and studies in the capital.

Farid prefers to wait before talking about the post-al-Sadat era and his attitude toward it. He says that so far he has seen nothing to comment on and he is waiting. He pursues a special style in opposition; he remains in the shadow although his activities are invariably effective. Farid waited for Mubarak to come to London on his way back from the visit to Washington in order to hear what he had to say before expressing a view. But Mubarak said nothing then to change Farid's mind or make him break his silence.

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SOCIAL AFFAIRS OFFICIALS DISCUSS PUBLIC SERVICE TRANSLATION

Cairo AKHBAR AL-YAWM in Arabic 30 Jan 82 p 4

/Article by Fatimah Barakah: "A Confrontation between Young People and the Public Service Law"/

/Text/ One must pause to consider the public service project!

Nine years after the Public Service Law was first issued, it became necessary to evaluate the project in the light of reality and experience.

Has the public service project realized the goals for whose sake it was devised? Or has it just been turned into written articles in a file, representing restrictions on the takeoff toward the development of society as far as young people are concerned?

Does the public service project need development, or is the solution to abrogate it completely?

The People's Assembly Committee on Religious and Social Affairs, under the chairmanship of Dr Muhammad Mahjub, has opened the file on public service and next week hearing sessions will start in order to discuss the law and evaluate it from the standpoint of practice and application. The committee chairman says that the People's Assembly has the intention, through the hearing sessions, of having a frank, objective confrontation between young people and the Public Service Law and will listen to the views of specialists in all fields. The committee will then prepare its report so that the People's Assembly may discuss it.

AKHBAR AL-YAWM is discussing this important subject with members of the People's Assembly and the minister of social affairs, and is waiting for any opinions young people and specialists might have in order to put them before the People's Assembly committee that is discussing the subject.

Mr Sayyid Zaki, People's Assembly vice chairman, says that since the law was issued in 1973, young people of both sexes have been conscripted to perform public service for a period of 1 year if they have completed their educational stages, whether at the secondary, post-intermediate, or university levels, if they are surplus to the armed forces' requirements or have been exempted from military service to work in service areas.

One can add other fields by decree of the minister of social affairs, and amendments were made to the law in 1975 and 1977, all aimed at guiding the efforts of young people who have completed schooling at various levels to take part in economic and social development efforts, implanting the value of labor and respect for group spirit in young people, training and qualifying young people to accept their social responsibilities within society, and linking young people to the issues of society and interaction with them.

Sayyid Zaki goes on to say:

"However, the application of the law has been marred by many obstacles and flaws that have kept it from reaching the goal it was aimed at. Therefore, in spite of the positive features it has realized, the law is fragmented and varies as the entities carrying out its provisions vary. However, the flaws that exist in it demand that a review be made of its articles and that its spirit be modernized in a manner that will be in keeping with the requirements of the current stage, which requires the participation of all young people in the construction and redevelopment of Egypt."

#### The Flaws in the Law

"The flaws that exist in the law may be summarized by the fact that although the law, in its fourth article, stipulates the formation of a higher public service committee, planning in many aspects is detached from young people's thinking and spirit and therefore has been formalistic, has not penetrated to practical reality and therefore has not achieved results commensurate with the volume of young people conscripted, who number about 100,000 a year."

The People's Assembly vice chairman says that settling young people in conscription locations takes place as a result of personal intervention and personal favors on most occasions, and this has turned conscription into a form without content where the attendance of the conscript just appears on paper. Many of the executive and ordinary locations to which young people are assigned have no resources for receiving groups of conscripts or for benefiting from their presence, and consider them a heavy burden. There also is no followup plan to guarantee good performance.

In addition, the work to which the conscripts are assigned is not connected to economic and social development requirements. The period of assignment to public service is not counted toward conscripts' seniority as it is with military service.

#### A National Authority

Sayyid Zaki recommends, as improvements:

1. The law must be amended in a manner that is in keeping with requirements of young people's participation in domestic and national duties, by means of a plan whose goals and tasks are spelled out.
2. A higher national authority should be formed to draw up national policies so that benefit may be derived from young people's efforts, especially on such pressing problems as the eradication of illiteracy, family planning and other national tasks in which all the agencies concerned can be represented.

3. National objectives that can be gauged by specific criteria of production and service should be spelled out in the government budget in order to underline young people's role in making a contribution to the nation.

4. The armed forces can play a positive role, especially through the National (Civil) Service Agency, in absorbing young people's efforts in this field.

#### Service Cavalcades

Mukhtar 'Abd-al-Hamid, vice chairman of the People's Assembly, says that this law has been full of flaws since it was first issued. It was amended after a few months had passed, when it was discovered that it did not stipulate that conscription should be considered a service period that could be added to the conscript's period of work and that this law contained differences in treatment between young people who were conscripted in 1973 and those who were conscripted in 1975. An amendment was made making young people equal in this regard.

However, has the law realized full benefit from young people's public service projects from the practical standpoint, in a manner serving the nation and the masses of the Egyptian people in various fields?

Mukhtar 'Abd-al-Hamid answers by saying, "The law must have the goal of making use of the energies of the people assigned to serve.

"It has been proved that some of these people are not performing any service and indeed do not go to work area, although they are given certificates of performance of public service from which they, but not the nation, benefit.

"We can defend ourselves against the plague of illiteracy and eliminate it; this is a plague that various governments have failed to face.

"It is strange that the issues that surround young people should be raised while we have a massive group of young people in our midst whom we cannot get to participate, through the provisions of this law, in solving some of society's problems in whose solution the solution of many young people's issues lie.

"By this I mean that we can mobilize the young people conscripted for public service in caravans and cavalcades that will be of use to the nation by investing the creative, constructive efforts latent in young people in labor camps. In exchange for wages for young people, we will be able, by effecting a proper distribution of young people's qualifications and fields of expertise or specialization, to bring benefit to the nation and the citizen through scientific study and planning.

"We must also be careful to have distribution among worksites coincide with areas where the young people live.

"About 7 years have elapsed since that law was first issued. In spite of the application of the provisions of the law, none of the serious effects that the issuance of the law was aimed at have been realized.

"We must face reality most sincerely and frankly. Anyone who is not enrolled in the military must work in the public service field, care must be given to all the circumstances that will be of benefit to national activity, and young people's hopes and aspirations must not be thwarted. This can all be realized through serious coordination and study."

#### 4 Pounds Are Not Enough

Dr Suhayr al-Qalamawi, chairman of the Cultural Committee of the People's Assembly, says "In my opinion, the public service draft must be subordinate to the army or at least the army along with /the Ministry of/ Social Affairs, because it is basically military service in social form; public service conscripts are people who do not perform military service. In addition, the Ministry of Social Affairs has exerted great efforts in the past but in spite of its powers has not been able to imprison people who do not appear for service. In addition, many people are assigned to education, which they are not interested in."

"The main problem is that a large number of families are anticipating the day their children will graduate, and the sum of 4 pounds a month graduates receive during the public service period is not enough for anything. This must be raised to 10 pounds, or at least to a wage that comes close to graduates wages; it is not reasonable for people who have been receiving 4 pounds for a quarter century to receive 15 in 1982 and thereby I would make graduates produce during their public service conscription period."

Dr Suhayr al-Qalamawi adds, "The distribution of graduates is also wrong. It is reasonable that agricultural graduates should go to oversee cooperative societies--why don't they go reclaim land? In addition, the training period the graduates go through is very short and unproductive; why don't we prepare them in the third year of university or during summer vacation?"

#### Useful for Education

Professor Fatimah 'Inan, the grand lady of teachers and member of the People's Assembly, says "The law in the field of education is very useful; it fills a large deficiency in the teachers' schedules. We are supplying a labor force of more than 40,000 teachers. They make a great commotion, and how can we stem it?"

"Female graduates settle down in the teaching field because it is an extension of motherhood and is one of the best fields for women to work in. I do not know whether or not other areas are successful, because I am not in contact with other fields."

She adds, "It is a big mistake for us to assign graduates the process of eradicating illiteracy, because that requires special training and students' scholarly and intellectual resources do not qualify them for it."

#### Total Elimination

Sami Abazah, chairman of the People's Assembly Youth Committee, says "From the practical standpoint the draft is not feasible and wastes the time of young men

and women. During our discussion of the conscription draft in the committee, we said, regarding the public service draft, that that should be totally abrogated, that an anti-illiteracy draft should take its place, which would be the basis of service for young men and women who are not conscripted, and that there should also be a neutral committee which would give people literacy examinations to determine whether the young men or women achieved success in the period specified.

"The public service experience has proved to be mere ink on paper and it has been shown that no benefits have been achieved by the department or the graduate."

#### Dr Amal 'Uthman: Public Service Has Positive Features--and Negative Ones

The Ministry of Social Affairs has an opinion on the Public Service Law. Dr Amal 'Uthman, minister of insurance and minister of state for social affairs, says that the Public Service Law, issued in 1973, which started to be applied in 1974, is aimed at putting the energies of young people of both sexes who have not performed military service to work, and many bodies have benefited from young people's social work, including the anti-illiteracy /campaign/. The people who are conscripted in this field work through existing organizations in the education agencies, the private societies, the trade unions, the armed forces and the police agencies, in order to help eradicate illiteracy in accordance with the curricula of the Ministry of Education's Adult Education Agency. People conscripted in 1979 worked with 229 classes in societies, in which there were 22,341 students (which increased in 1980-81 to 395 classes with 26,724 students); with the armed forces, where the classes increased from 155 with 8,888 students in 1979 to 162 classes with 9,265 students in 1981-82; and with the Central Security Forces /which increased/ from 127 classes with 4,791 students in 1979 to 206 classes with 6,963 students in 1980-81. In the area of family planning, conscripts are working with the family planning agencies that already exist. They brought in 10,488 new cases which benefited from family planning services in 1980-81. They also followed up on 21,475 cases left over from 1979 and 81,765 cases in 1980-81. In the area of social volunteer work home visits, in view of the importance of family relations, the conscripts visited 1,228 cases in 1979. In 1980-81 this rose to 2,550 visits, above and beyond visits, meetings, sessions and symposia. In the field of cultural services, the number of students whom the conscripts worked with increased from 37,734 in 1979 to 50,038 in 1980-81, in Ministry of Education classes and consolidation classes belonging to philanthropic organizations.

Dr Amal 'Uthman adds, "There is no doubt that young people, and the fields in which they have worked, have benefited greatly. The bodies in which young people have worked have benefited from increased efficiency of service performance, through the conscripts, who are a young manpower element that is able to make sacrifices. Conscripts benefit from their participation in service agencies, becoming acquainted with their work methods and acquiring expertise in interacting with the masses. As far as continuation of the plan goes, I find that young people's self-sacrifice makes it impossible to ignore the importance of this issue."

Dr Amal comments by saying, "There is no doubt that there are negative aspects in the project and that there are problems in the way of execution. The most important of these is the paucity and deficiencies of allotments, as embodied in the 4-pound

stipend that is given to conscripts and has come to represent an urgent complaint on young people's part. The ministry has already written the Finance Ministry to raise that to 10 pounds, in order to realize the young peoples' demands, but that has not yet been done; the bodies benefiting from the project must monitor and encourage them, and there must also be incentives for young people who perform prominent, pioneering material and moral work, but our financial allocations prevent that.

"It is also necessary to assign capable young people who have graduated with intermediary and above-intermediary credentials to confront the issues that have become chronic in rural areas. Another most important problem facing young people is the fact that conscription dates are not spelled out and made clear to young people, and that has a psychological effect on them. There is no doubt that the project is performing a social function and that many governors who head local committees on the governorate level have been assuming total charge of supervision since the start of execution, while getting the ministry to take part in supervision. There is no doubt that there are many positive features to the project."

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CSO: 4504/189

EGYPT

BRIEFS

PRC TRADE PROTOCOL--A trade protocol for 1982 between Egypt and the PRC was signed in Cairo today. This protocol, to the tune of \$184 million, provides for a new list of Egyptian products to be exported to China, such as linen, furniture and dyes. This is in addition to the traditional exports of raw cotton, cotton yarn, phosphates, medicine and chemicals. The protocol also provides for the diversification of Chinese exports to Egypt of food stuffs, raw materials needed for industry, machines, chemical goods and ready-made clothes for state employees. [Text] [NC281536 Cairo Domestic Service in Arabic 1400 GMT 28 Mar 82]--Cairo, 31 Mar (MENA)--PRC Vice Minister of Foreign Trade Zheng Toubin left Cairo this afternoon at the conclusion of a 7-day visit to Egypt. Zheng added that he also discussed with the Egyptian side the SF325 million loan which China has granted to Egypt to build a conference hall on the Cairo-al-Fayyum road and a ready-made clothes factory in Cairo. [Excerpt] [NC311219 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1128 GMT 31 Mar 82]

CSO: 4500/133

OPPOSITION NCR GROUP ISSUED PLANS ON GOVERNMENT

NCO 31350 Paris AFP in English 1342 GMT 3 Apr 82

[Text] Paris, 3 Apr (AFP)--The Iranian National Council of Resistance (NCR) has published three documents on how Iran would be ruled during the first six months of transition if the resistance seized power, the NCR announced here today.

Former Iranian President Abolhasan Bani-sadr, representatives of organizations opposed to the current government in Iran, and other notable Iranians are members of the NCR.

The communique was signed by Mas'ud Rajavi, leader of the Islamic leftist people's Mojahedin organization and an NCR official. The NCR, founded in July 1981, defines itself as "the organization leading the legitimate resistance of the Iranian people against Khomeyni's regime".

Mr Bani-sadr would head the transitional government, which would be directed by Mr Rajavi. Following transition a constitutional assembly and national legislature would be elected and Mr Bani-sadr and Mr Rajavi would resign.

The assembly would then elect a government, the first document said.

The NCR would function as a legislature during the transition and supervise the provisional government, which would carry out "the program of the provisional government of the democratic Islamic republic," published last October, the second communique said.

The provisional government's immediate tasks would be to free all political prisoners, protect families of the victims of the current regime, stop the Iran-Iraq war as well as fighting in Kurdistan and dissolve all organs of repression, according to the third document.

The third document also said the provisional government would respect all liberties and individual rights and the equality of men and women.

CSO: 4600/378

## IRANIAN AMBASSADOR TO VATICAN GIVES PRESS CONFERENCE

LD051050 Tehran IRNA in English 0934 GMT 5 Apr 82

[Text] Rome, 5 Apr (IRNA)--Iranian ambassador to the Vatican, Seyyed Hadi Khosroshahi in a press conference in the Vatican, attended by local and foreign correspondents outlined the positions of Iran in the war, the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council and the relations of the Vatican with Islamic countries. In his interview, published in the Italian press Khosroshahi said that Iran would not negotiate with Iraqi Ba'thists and would only talk with the oppressed Iraqi people and their appointed government.

Referring to the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council he said that reactionary governments in the region in order to further stabilise themselves have asked for aid from U.S. imperialists forces, although Iran had no territorial claim upon neighbouring lands.

Khosroshahi, replying to a question that [as received] What did Iran mean by the export of the revolution said that the meaning of export of the revolution was not interfering in other countries affairs. He said that the victory of the Islamic revolution had given hope to oppressed Muslim countries so that they could rise up against diabolic regimes and their foreign supporters. He said that was the real meaning of exporting the revolution which was implemented without using any force.

On the understanding between Islam and Christianity he said that understanding among monotheist religions was a clear order in the Koran, but the Vatican had created an illogical situation with regard to its relations in practice with Islamic countries. Khosroshahi added that the Palestine representative was not allowed to meet the pope during his one week stay in the Vatican while (?Yitzhaq Shamir), a Zionist regime's minister met the pope one month ago. The pope, he said, was following the issue of Poland seriously but had forgot about the people of Afghanistan. Answering claims that the pope had prayed for peace between Iran and Iraq Khosroshahi said that in a world ruled by force and where justice was suppressed by aggressors, prayer alone was not enough. Iranian youth he said prayed before they attacked Iraqis and achieved victory although they were not happy to kill Iraqi soldiers. He said they were following the Koranic dictum that defence must be made against aggressors.

CSO:L 4600/378

## REZA SHAH II ADDRESSES IRANIANS IN LONDON

GF060340 (Clandestine) Voice of Iran in Persian 0330 GMT 5 Apr 82

[Text] In London Reza Shah II, king of Iran, has met leaders and representatives of organizations and political and military groups and said: I want the monarchy for the sake of Iran and not Iran for the sake of monarchy. The Free Voice of Iran correspondent reports that Reza Shah II, sovereign of Iran, who had traveled to London at the invitation of political organizations and militant groups abroad, again emphasized the unity and cohesion of all the groups and organizations. He said: The unity of all forces struggling for Iran and its liberation after being utterly disgusted by the Iranian regime is a national and undeniable need. The salvation of the country takes precedence over all other issues, and the solution of all peripheral issues will be postponed until the problem of Iran's liberation has been resolved.

The Iranian monarch said: First we should have Iran and later we can settle other pertinent issues and seek a solution to them by national consensus. Reza Shah II said: according to the constitution of Iran's monarchy, the king is a symbolical (?axis) and rules as a (?mentor) but does not govern. In a monarchical Iran, all Iranian citizens of any creed or religion and all (?patriotic) Iranians of whatever political ideology should have complete freedom so long as their beliefs and ideology are not in conflict with the country's independence or territorial integrity.

Reza Shah II reiterated: I want the monarchy for the sake of Iran and not vice versa. The king is like a dam which holds together all sects of Iranians with different political beliefs.

Addressing the representatives and members of the militant political and military groups, Reza Shah II added: The decisive predilection of the monarchists and those loyal to the laws of constitutional monarchy should be protected so that a consensus can be achieved among all those concerned about and struggling for Iran. That which has priority over everything else is Iran and the problem of its liberation. God will be our intercessor (?in this respect). We shall definitely not permit any power except the Iranian nation to formulate the destiny of our country.

During the meeting Reza Shah II once again emphasized that all the activities outside the country should be coordinated with the efforts of forces engaged in the liberation struggle within the country and on an international scale.

The Free Voice of Iran correspondent in London adds: The Iranian sovereign's meeting with members and representatives of the militant organizations in Britain began on Monday and concluded after 3 days. He left the country Saturday afternoon. Besides organizations and political and military groups, representatives of student organizations, Iranian correspondents and Iranian residents in Europe also met and talked to the Iranian king.

Our correspondent reports that during all these meetings discussions were held informally and in an atmosphere of simplicity bereft of any kind of ceremony. What impressed our compatriots more than anything else was the broadmindedness and patriotism of the young sovereign. Our correspondent cites reliable sources as saying that during the Iranian monarch's 3-day visit to London some representatives of nonmonarchical groups also met Reza Shah II.

CSO: 4640/228

## CLANDESTINE IRANIAN ON SHAH'S MEETINGS IN BRITAIN

NC060731 (Clandestine) Voice of Iran in Persian 1805 GMT 5 Apr 82

[Text] In a meeting with representatives of international news agencies and press in London, Reza Shah II, said that that which is going on in Iran today annoys human conscience.

Following his previous reports on the private trip by the shah of Iran to London, and on his meetings and talks with representatives and members of combatant organizations and with compatriots living in Britain, the Voice of Iran correspondent has reported that although Reza Shah II's visit was private and at the invitation of Iranians driven from the homeland, nevertheless a large number of members of parliament, former secretaries of that country's cabinet, economic and commercial personalities, as well as dignitaries of the press and representatives of the mass media including representatives of international news agencies met with the shah of Iran in order to become acquainted with his views and opinions on various political and economic issues.

This report states that during a meeting of introduction to representatives of the press and of other mass media, the shah of Iran spoke about the present situation in our country and said: That which is happening in Iran today annoys human conscience and the regime ruling Iran has brought nothing but the killing of people, the implementation of policies and methods of oppression, threats and terror and the destruction of the country. Reza Shah II also stressed the need for the country's salvation from the clutches of the ruling executioner, national unity and efforts toward Iran's reconstruction.

The Voice of Iran correspondent who witnessed the various meetings of the shah of Iran adds in his report that the young shah's personality, his patriotism, his support for freedom and his full knowledge of political, military and economic issues affected the political and press dignitaries of Britain to such an extent that they frequently expressed surprise at the knowledge of the young shah of Iran. The Voice of Iran correspondent's report also states that Reza Shah II's meeting with compatriots living in Britain (?has given new strength for struggle) to combatant and antiregime groups and organizations, and it is hoped and expected that he will make similar trips to other parts of the world to meet with other Iranians who have been driven from the homeland.

In his latest report from London, the Voice of Iran correspondent says that the remarks by the shah of Iran to representatives and members of combatant organizations and groups have been widely reflected in various circles and especially in Iranian publications abroad. Political and press sources of London have especially pointed to the important fact that Reza Shah II's support for freedom and his sincere and profound respect for the need to observe political and social freedoms will undoubtedly play a basic role in the attainment of a (?national) understanding in Iran.

In his remarks to compatriots the shah of Iran has emphasized unity and solidarity and has said: I want the monarchy for Iran and not Iran for the monarchy and according to the constitution the shah is a manifestation of national unity and a post that reigns and not rules and in the imperial Iran all Iranian [word indistinct], with any ideology and view, and all parties and groups with any ideology should enjoy complete freedom on the condition that their ideology is not inconsistent with the independence, national sovereignty and the territorial integrity of the country.

CSO: 4640/228

MODERATES, RADICALS STRUGGLE OVER FORMATION OF PARTIES

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 63, 18 Mar 82 pp 2-3

[Text] Renewed speculation about the significant strengthening of the powers of the so-called moderate section of the ruling clergy in their struggle with the extreme radicals led by president Khamene'i was sparked off this week by seemingly conflicting statements from the president and Ayatollah Khomeyni.

Only a few days after Khamene'i had stressed the importance of people of similar mind forming themselves together in political parties Khomeyni made it clear that in an Islamic country people who called themselves Muslims should be able to join together in one Islamic people.

This inevitably fueled new reports that the ruling Islamic Republic Party might soon show the effects of infiltration by more moderate elements, and thus leave the extremist radicals in danger of becoming isolated and vulnerable to a putsch by the moderates.

Khamene'i's defence of political parties was viewed by some Tehran observers as a thinly veiled defence of his marxist Fedayeen-e-Khalq and Tudeh party allies, whom he may feel are now under threat. Tehran has been full of forecasts that the extreme leftists would become the next target for elimination. A recent complaint in the Moscow daily PRAVDA that Iran was spurning the kind of cooperation the Soviets would like to have has been seen by some people as a sign of Moscow's unease over the growing pressures on some known pro-Soviet Tudeh officials. The National Voice of Iran radio, beaming programmes in Persian from Baku, always reports trade deals between Iran and Russia as having been achieved through the help of the Tudeh party, and there has been little to crow about in this area in spite of Moscow's efforts.

That Khamene'i has been under pressure himself was reflected in an editorial this week in his official IRP newspaper JOMHURI ESLAMI, which praised the president's leadership qualities at some length. Readers were surprised by the apparent defence of the president, whom they had not realised was under attack.

There were signs that the business community, and its chief representatives among the clergy like former premier Mahdavi-Kani, might also be gaining ground in their fight against the nationalisation of foreign trade which the

extreme radicals have imposed on the country. Reports said trade enquiries from individual merchants in Tehran recently had suggested that lack of government cash and shortages in the markets might lead to some amendments in the legislation and even its rescinding.

Another report from Tehran said this week that followers of the prominent Ayatollah Rabbani-Shirazi, who was said to have died in a road accident two weeks ago, have accused activists of the Tudeh party of being responsible for his death. Rabbani-Shirazi, a moderate who clashed with the late Ayatollah Beheshti in earlier days of the revolution but who later became a member of the Council of Guardians, was said to be an active critic of the Tudeh, repeatedly warning of the dangers of the large number of younger officials who were rumoured to be members of the party. His supporters' pledge to revenge him may be a sign that there is strong pressure among sections of the clergy to clear more leftists out of the administration and thus loosen the radicals' grip.

Meanwhile, both leading officials, among them Khomeyni, and the media have been taking part in an apparent campaign to assure the public that the regime is firmly in the saddle and opposition groups should abandon any idea of ejecting it. This was inevitably seen as a reflection of concern over the continuing attacks on officials; two prominent clergymen in Hojatoleslam Mohammad Salem Hosni were both killed by assassins wearing revolutionary guards uniform earlier in the week. Several other attacks on guards or officials were reported in the press, and there were continuing reports of unrest in the West of the country.

The commanders of the Tabriz and Sarab garrisons in Azarbaijan were reportedly among seven senior officers arrested last weekend and taken to the Evin prison in Tehran. The wing reserved there for military prisoners was reported to be fully occupied last week, a hint of the problems the security authorities are facing. The government announced it was forming a new security and intelligence ministry to take over the role that Savak played during the Shah's time; it already has an organisation known as Savama which is said to have been active abroad as well as in Iran keeping an eye on potential opposition elements.

Sources in Iran said that the pilot who flew his Phantom to Saudi Arabia last week has been released from detention to resume active duty after being accused in 1980 of being involved in a plot against the government. He was said to have been told to report again for investigation, so decided to make his escape. He was reported to have intended landing in Bahrain but pursuing Iranian planes forced him to go on to Saudi Arabia.

In a speech on Monday Khomeyni warned the armed forces against becoming involved in politics or political parties. "You are either a party member or a member of the armed forces," he said. "You cannot be both." Nor was there any place for political parties among the revolutionary corpsmen. Such contact would mean corruption.

When he received Sunni and Shia clergymen the following day Khomeyni also told them, according to Tehran radio, that "the enemy is very clearly trying

to turn the population against the clergy." This was because they knew that it was the clergy who guaranteed the survival of the regime.

Tehran radio also announced, one month after it was said to have taken place, that a clergyman in Bushehr had led an attempt "to raise the banner of the opposition" in the southern port city of Bushehr. It gave the date of the attempt, but did not explain why the announcement was made so late.

CSO: 4600/361

WASHINGTON'S ATTITUDE SAID TO MYSTIFY IRANIANS

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 63, 18 Mar 82 pp 5-9

[Text] The Reagan administration has been in power for more than 14 months, yet it does not seem to have formulated any kind of policy towards Iran. To most politically conscious Iranians this apparent indifference to their country on the part of the U.S. is a source of anxiety and dismay.

Meanwhile, some uninformed reports in the American press, such as a recent New York TIMES report on CIA involvement with the exile groups, are seen as providing the Khomeyni regime with food for propaganda against the opposition groups.

Almost all thinking Iranians are convinced that the present regime is not viable. It seems to them, however, that the West and, to some extent, the Russians, are trying to find a solution for this rather than an alternative regime with the ingredients for greater stability.

The opposition groups are doing their best to tell the world that there is nothing anybody can do to make the theocracy of Khomeyni, or any other form of theocracy for that matter, viable. They base their argument on the following:

1. The present theocratic regime, with its unworkable constitution and its emphasis on putting every aspect of the political, economic social and judicial activity in a religious and medieval straightjacket, cannot cope with the policies and practices needed to run the affairs of a country with the ethnic diversity, political complexity, administrative sophistication and economic modernity of Iran. Furthermore, any attempt to loosen the theocratic mould by revising the constitution or helping the moderate mullahs to take the upper hand will only lead to further turmoil and will not bring back the stability needed to restore normal life or the kind of climate in which the technocrats can return.
2. The present regime has been so closely associated with continuous killings and repression that all those who have been part of the Khomeyni clique are unacceptable to the centrist and nationalist groups as well as to the armed forces, the civil servants and the professional groups. Even moderates in the Khomeyni camp have their hands stained with blood and are held responsible

for the misery and destitution of the families of thousands of people whose only fault was to be better qualified than the beneficiaries of the revolution. Indeed, the revolution turned out to be a social upheaval in which unqualified but ambitious individuals took their revenge against those who were successful during the previous regime.

3. Even the moderates in the regime are not capable of dealing with the political void, the international isolation, the anarchy, the breakdown of authority and the economic stagnation to which Iran has been subjected in the aftermath of the revolution. These anomalies are the inevitable result of trying to impose on a relatively advanced society a system of government which aims to cater for the least capable and the least qualified segment of the society.

4. The present regime is trying to accommodate two incompatible elements--a theocracy which is reactionary and a revolutionary rhetoric which is marxist and rejects established values. That accounts for the violence, lawlessness and turmoil which stem from a commitment to theocracy or the "divine right of the clergy to rule." In fact, even the moderates are far too deeply committed to the revolutionary rhetoric of marxist nature to be able to backtrack without losing face and credibility.

5. Finally, the nature of the regime is so violent and extremist that any change from within would eventually lead to the unleashing of more violent forces. This is evident from the current power struggle among the mullahs of the Khomeyni camp, in which the moderates are usually forced to fall back to defensive positions. Another indication of how a change from within the regime is bound to fail is the Bani-Sadr experiment. Bani-Sadr, who was generally accepted as an Islamic theoretician, capable of matching Islamic tenets with modern needs, was finally doomed to failure because he tried to walk a moderate tightrope.

These are the reasons which most of the opposition groups, especially inside the country, present to prove that the existing regime is not viable and that it does not lend itself to any kind of "doctoring" to correct this and make it palatable. These groups maintain that the Mojahedin-e-Khalq are also as far from viability as the Khomeyni regime, because they, too, combine the two incompatible elements of marxism and Islam. In practice, the Mojahedin must allow one of the two to get the upper hand and the chances are that marxism will become the stronger element.

However, the opposition inside the country is not sure whether the West, especially the Americans, is fully aware of such an argument. They have no means of directly communicating their views to the outside world, even though they do try sometimes at risk to their lives. They hoped the exile groups outside Iran would enlighten the West and feel disillusioned when they see that Iranians abroad have settled down to making a profession out of opposition activity, and that they appear incapable of influencing the right kind of opinion in the West. Worse, they see that Bani-Sadr and Rajavi have succeeded in obtaining better recognition than centrist opposition groups.

At this stage the opposition inside Iran becomes disheartened and demoralised when it notes a total lack of attention on the part of the West, especially

America, to Iran and its problems. And their frustration is deepened when they come to learn of new evidence, such as in the book recently published by the former U.S. ambassador to Iran, William Sullivan, suggesting that the Americans bear full blame for the events which brought Khomeyni to power. Nowadays they accuse the Americans, as well as the West Europeans, of unseating a relatively progressive and much more humanitarian Shah (in comparison with Khomeyni) and then washing their hands of Iran and leaving Iranians at the mercy of their society's rejected and perverse elements whose qualification for their role is their terrorist background.

Mullahs of the Khomeyni camp are well aware of the feelings of the centrist opposition groups inside and their potential strength, especially the damage they may cause to the theocracy if they succeed in getting their message across to the West. So the mullahs are doing their best to suppress the voices of the centrist groups at home. To this end the mullahs try to convince the West, especially the Americans, that:

1. Their regime has a vast popular base and that if it looks backward, repressive and indeed different from other regimes, it is precisely because the people like it to be so.
2. The overriding concern of the people is neither material comfort nor political freedom, but a fanatical devotion to religious formalism. The mullahs go out of their way to portray such a picture of the majority of Iranians. They like to say that those Iranians who say they prefer a liberal, progressive system are a tiny minority who have been rejected by the people.
3. The only alternative to their theocracy is either a disintegration of Iran or a leftist, possibly communist regime. The mullahs base their propaganda theme on the allegation that the 70 years of constitutional government and 60 years of the Pahlavi era were out of line with the sentiments and the nature of Iranians. By the same token they want to say that Iranians do not aspire to having a modern state close to the West.

The centrist groups fear that the West may finally be fooled into accepting this portrayal of Iranians by the mullahs and will subsequently decide to live with them in the hope that their influence may soften up the theocracy. If the West is thus fooled by the mullahs, then the efforts of the centrist groups in trying to isolate the regime and alienating it will be totally wasted and Iran may well sink into a new dark age from which it can be saved only by the communists.

Unfortunately, the exile groups abroad lack the political experience and resources to counter the mullahs' propaganda offensive, which is aimed at giving a false picture of what the majority of Iranians want. The opposition groups abroad are further handicapped by the fact that they are opposing a regime which ostensibly rode to power on a wave of popular resentment against a monarch who was pictured as very corrupt and repressive. Indeed, Western public opinion was so deeply entrenched against the Shah, and by extension in favour of his adversary, that the opposition groups have to fight on two fronts--to counter Khomeyni's propaganda offensive on one side and to correct

the entrenched feelings in the West that before the revolution the situation was as hopeless as it is now. This constant preoccupation with how to explain the pre-revolutionary era has been a divisive factor among exile groups.

For its part the regime has exploited the divisions within the opposition ranks, trying to say that none of them is capable of providing a viable alternative to the mullahs.

Yet inside Iran the regime lacks respectability and recognition. The mullahs have managed to stay in power by mutilating the civil service and the army and by creating secondary problems, hoping people would have no time to think of the real problems. The mullahs have also created a new "vested interest group" from among the society's drop-outs in an effort to have supporters whose only hope of survival lies in the regime staying in power.

Any effort to humanise the regime will mean that the newly-created vested interest group must give way to the qualified and professional groups. This would lead to more trouble and the continuation of turmoil. Let us not forget that the Shah's regime, which was far more representative, more capable and more acceptable than Khomeyni's, did not stand the strains of loosening up and relaxing its controls. Thus, the Khomeyni regime is in no position to survive by accepting changes from within which might entail some humanisation and relaxation of controls. This is the considered opinion of many well-informed observers inside Iran who are in daily contact with Khomeyni's new class and have first-hand experience of controls applied by his regime to keep a restive, angry and disappointed population under control. Some exile politicians may still like to talk of a romantic revolution having gone astray and aspirations having been betrayed; but Iranians are, in fact, only waiting to erupt.

This is the crux of the matter: Iran can return to normal life only when there is a clean break with the revolution. Any move to humanise the revolution or sabotage what good things it once represented will create more tensions and solve none of the present problems. Khomeyni and his gang--whether moderate or extremist--have gone so far in pitching religion against Iranian nationalism and also in the stratification of society (all in the name of Islam and the revolution) that they have left no room for any change.

In fact, many well-informed Iranians say that the protest movement in 1978 which subsequently developed into the Islamic revolution has been thoroughly misrepresented by all concerned--the mullahs, the leftists, the intelligentsia and the international media. The ordinary people, the so-called silent majority, would like to call it a day and forget about it. They do say that what they never believed would happen was the creation of a theocracy or a take-over by the leftists. They admit that they were guilty of political naivety either to have supported the uprising in the case of the powerful bazaaris and some nationalist politicians, or to have put up no resistance to it. But they say that they have paid a heavy price for their mistake and they deserve to be spared the retribution.

But how will these feelings eventually be translated into a course of action? Sources inside Iran point to the fact that popular opposition has already been effective in denying the Khomeyni regime the degree of stability and

recognition it needs to sink roots. It is a fact that despite its constant appeal to the people's religious sentiments and also in spite of mass murders and repression the regime is today less secure than any other time. The failure of the regime to take root, the sources say, is not just because of acts of terrorism by a handful of mojahedin kids; rather, it is the refusal of the ordinary people to accept the theocracy.

True, the present regime's lawless and backward character must be regarded as the main reason for its lack of viability. But this has also led to the people's refusal to give it any proper recognition. The allegation that the regime has a popular support base, is thus, refuted.

Having denied their acceptance to the regime the people are waiting for its replacement by one or more of the organised opposition groups. Their best hope is for the army to make a move, but they know that the army is tied up in a war and its power is checked and kept in balance by the regime's armed groups. This could be overcome by giving the army a political mandate. Thus the question of appealing to the army's sense of nationalism comes up. This is seen as the best possible way to motivate the army to strike against the theocracy, to restore normal conditions and to put the country on the track chosen since the constitutional uprising of the early 1900s. Of course, a nationalistic mandate for the army means participation by civilian political leadership to forestall chances of a military dictatorship replacing the theocratic dictatorship.

What should the West, especially the Americans do? For one thing they should resist the temptation to help Khomeyni out of his predicament or to try to "humanise" the revolution, because this will not solve the problem. Secondly, the West has a duty, to itself and to its ideals, to give moral and political support to Iranian nationalism. It is self-defeating for the West to say that the whole thing is "an Iranian problem which has nothing to do with us."

This is not how the Russians see the situation. Iranians should not be punished because the Yalta agreement put their country on the Western side of the line where the protectors, unlike the Russians, lack the conviction or the stamina to live up to their moral commitments.

CSO: 4600/361

DAMASCUS, TEHRAN SAID TO DRAW CLOSER

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 63, 18 Mar 82 pp 3-4

[Text] Tehran radio last week launched a campaign against the "so-called" non-aligned nations and claimed that there was no real ideological bond to serve as a common cause among them. A commentator said that rich and poor, monarchical and republican, Islamic and non-Islamic nations were grouped in an unworkable alliance.

"Many of these nations are ruled by governing bodies which are aligned with imperialism and Zionism," the radio said. "Some are in reality communists," it added.

Observers believe that the attack, coming on the first day of an official visit to Tehran by a high-powered Syrian delegation, was meant to underscore the need for much closer ties between Iran's theocracy and Syria's regime. The mullahs hope to expand their alliance with Assad to create a counterweight to both the Islamic conference and the non-aligned nations.

The Syrian delegation, led by foreign minister Khaddam, consisted of two other ministers as well as 38 other officials. It negotiated oil supplies to replace those it had previously been receiving from Iraq as well as commercial exchanges which would provide needed food supplies, detergents, phosphates and textiles for Iraq. Arab observers said Syria was obviously trying to reduce its dependence on Arab oil suppliers and thus evade their pressure in political matters. Besides Khamene'i and premier Mussavi, Khaddam had talks with foreign minister Velayati, at which the planned non-aligned summit scheduled for Baghdad in the autumn was discussed.

Iraq's anxiety to end the war with Iran before the summit is held is said to be one of the main reasons for Baghdad's efforts to try to open negotiations for peace. Velayati and Khaddam also discussed the war, according to an Iranian government news agency report, but the statement gave no clue as to whether they discussed ways of ending it. The return of Egypt to the Arab fold, expected as soon as the Sinai agreement has been implemented by Israel, is another factor which concerns both Iran and Syria. Egyptian president Mubarak said his country had been approached to adopt a hostile attitude to Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf states, but had rejected this. Tehran observers said there was obviously no interest in Khaddam urging the Iranians to end the war with Iraq, and Zia ul-Haq's visit to Damascus on that errand had been a waste of time.

MONARCHIST PAPER DEFENDS ITSELF AGAINST 'DUPPLICITY' OF PRESS

Paris IRAN LIBRE in French 15 Mar 82 pp 1-2

[Text] The NEW YORK TIMES published a series of articles last week on the massive financial aid which, some sources say, the CIA has contributed to certain Iranian opposition groups in exile. In these articles, the Iran Libre (Free Iran) movement was wholly neglected.

However, this report was immediately picked up by the "honorable" Paris daily, LE MONDE, but it was distorted and abbreviated so as to fit it into the framework of the ideological campaign being orchestrated, in Iran and outside it, by the famous daily on the Rue des Italiens.

The NEW YORK TIMES wrote:

"Western sources close to the intelligence services explained that the (CIA) funds were provided to certain leftist groups, not including Mr Bani-Sadr, and rightist groups, not including the monarchist faction."

Now, this is what LE MONDE said:

"...American aid reported to have gone mainly to the moderate leftist forces, excluding former president Bani-Sadr, but doubtless to the monarchists rallying in support of Princess Ashraf, the twin sister of the late shah, as well."

Of course LE MONDE remained silent about another detail reported in the NEW YORK TIMES, to wit the fact that "the non-American sources which supplied the initial information" seemed very anxious to see the United States "establish links with those among the leaders who have no chance of winning power in Iran, the members of the family of the shah in particular."

One point needs to be clarified at this stage:

These non-American sources, so concerned about the reputation of the United States, are none other than Iranian defectors who have long held American passports. In the past, and under cover of "opposition to the shah's despotism," they have consistently served the authorities in Washington. These individuals are currently based in Paris, where, behind the scenes, they are manipulating the strings of the very group among the opposition movements which is most closely linked with the United States, although its name, as if by accident, is omitted from the interminable list of CIA "beneficiaries."

That having been said, the statements by LE MONDE are defamatory and inconsistent with the original NEW YORK TIMES text. Their only purpose, once again, is to discredit the monarchist opposition, above all when it is legitimist.

Those of the elements in the Iranian opposition which have really been given assistance are known to all. Everyone is aware of the sources of the aid (not necessarily American), the amount of the funds, the approximate date on which they were paid out, and even the personal allocations made through funds supposedly destined to the battle for the nation. But no one can be found--except for LE MONDE--who attributes any financial dependence on foreign sources to the monarchists. We await acknowledgment of the error committed in the pages of LE MONDE from its editorial staff. It is rare that such incidents occur in the international press without an honest acknowledgment.

There are leaders of the Iranian opposition who sometimes claim to be monarchists in order to be sure of an audience among the Iranians, for they know well that in the view of our compatriots, "legitimism" is synonymous with "nationalism." On other occasions, however, when they find themselves with foreigners, they abandon the mask and claim to be republicans. What do they really want? To penetrate to the ideological concepts of their interlocutors and appear to be movement heads. These are phantom groups, since by this strategem, they can obtain financing. There is nothing more wretched than this kind of behavior.

We at IRAN LIBRE are waging the battle without disguise. With us there can be no mistake. We are fighting for the principle of monarchy in Iran. We have no personal ambitions. Therefore, unlike some, we can carry our heads high and speak out boldly. Our means are negligible in comparison to what others have. This matters little to us, for we for our part have what no capital can provide: loyal and self-sacrificing militants. Poor but proud, we have the vast satisfaction of being able to resist all pressure, for we have never sold out to anyone and no "revelation" can ever alter our stance.

How is it, then, that the Western news media, always looking for scandal, have never wondered about the financial support from which the opposition groups in the Iranian left wing benefit? And yet this opposition faction operates on a very grand scale and is obviously capable of meeting substantial expenditures. It suffices to leaf through the publications of these groups to see that nothing is free, even in the best of Marxist worlds. The hundreds of Iranian mujahedins who parade through France with their Libyan, Syrian, Palestinian and other friends are outfitted from head to toe. They all wear American army surplus jackets, jeans and sneakers to make them more fleet of foot. They demonstrate, now in Paris, now in the provinces. This certainly costs a great deal, particularly if we remember that the Islamic republic has cut off their incomes. Under such conditions, an obvious question arises: Who is paying? Who, for example, is paying the almost weekly rental on the Mutual Benefit Society premises?

It has been more than 10 years now that the daily LE MONDE has given its unconditional support to the representatives of the Iranian left, and especially a clique of unscrupulous intellectuals who deride the most elementary truths.

We are reminded of the editorial by Louis Pauwels (FIGARO-MAGAZINE, 6 March 1982). On the subject of the tactics the leftist media use where Latin America is concerned, he wrote:

"Too many intellectuals fail to see false witness as dishonorable. Too much of the media distorts the dominant feeling out of duplicity, ignorance or complicity."

In fact, these people always use the same methods. They are the same as those denounced by Raymond Aron in a similar context, in his article entitled "American Dominoes" (EXPRESS, 5 March 1982):

"Indeed, the spokesman for the regime would answer, the revolutionaries in El Salvador and Guatemala are not motivated by Marxist-Leninist faith. They are rebelling against despotic regimes, against an oligarchy which more or less monopolizes the land and the wealth....The French, who hope to bring them back into the Western sphere through the sale of arms, are once again failing to understand how the grandchildren of Lenin think."

In our view, Mr Aron could speak similarly of the Iranian revolutionaries.

Whether due to a misunderstanding of reality or sympathy with the "grandchildren of Lenin," whether due to complicity or duplicity on the part of the media, certain press organs whose sole goal is to push Iran into the arms of Moscow are doing everything possible to discredit those Iranians who cannot be classified as leftist, in particular the legitimist monarchists.

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RUMORS OF PEACE MOVES CONTINUE

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 63, 18 Mar 82 pp 1-2

[Article: "Tehran 'Double Talk' on Peace Moves"]

[Text] Though Tehran continued with a barrage of attacks on Iraqi president Saddam Hussain and swore to fight on until victory during the past week there were also signs that the rhetoric was orchestrated for the general public and the mullahs were not dismissing peace efforts in the same cavalier fashion as before.

President Khamene'i cabled Guinea president Sekou Toure, who had led an Islamic Conference Organisation peace mission to Baghdad and Tehran, thanking him for his efforts and giving Iran's blessing to his continuing his efforts to find a solution. He added, of course, the rider that Iran would still stick to its central demands, such as the withdrawal of Iraqi forces before negotiations began.

In their turn the Iraqis clung to their position that negotiations must begin before they withdraw, though diplomatic observers in Baghdad opined that the Iraqis would not be averse to going back to the 1975 agreement on the Shatt-al-Arab waterway.

The fact that Pakistani president Zia al-Haq had taken a trip to the area on a peace mission, as well as the Turkish prime minister and other senior Islamic politicians having taken time off from their home duties to visit Baghdad and Tehran, had already demonstrated the urgency with which the Arabs in particular and the Muslim countries in general seek to end the war.

But there were also rumours that separate meetings were taking place in Algiers at which the Algerian government was mediating in a new Soviet-backed effort to bring the two sides together in an agreement to end hostilities. Algiers has not hidden its concern over the continuing war and has been constantly appealing to both sides to come to an agreement.

Meanwhile, Ayatollah Khomeyni himself, though warning that Saddam must be punished for his aggression against Iran, also seemed to be leaving a chink of light in a speech he made on Monday. He felt the best way to end the war was for Saddam to kill himself, as Hitler had done before him, but in the meantime he felt the other Islamic countries should recognize Saddam as the

aggressor even if they did not take part in his destruction. A certain conciliatory note has appeared towards the Islamic peacemakers both in remarks of Khomeyni and other officials, Tehran observers noted.

The Kuwaiti news agency reported that Kuwait's ruler has asked Syrian foreign minister Khaddam to impress upon the Iranian leaders the need to make peace when he went to Tehran early this week. But the announcement of a sizable commercial agreement between Tehran and Damascus, featuring oil purchases, suggested that the Syrians had other more important aims for themselves in visiting Tehran.

Meantime, the western press and exile and other political sources busied themselves with discussing the always fascinating problem of where Iran is getting its military supplies. The exiles were spreading a report that an agreement had been made with the Soviet Union for the supply of \$860 million worth of arms, anti-aircraft missiles and services, saying \$320 million worth had already arrived in Iran. Thirty-five Soviet advisers had also arrived, and 40 Iranian officers were to go to Moscow for training in use of the supplied weapons, they said. The sources said Moscow had refused a barter agreement but nobody could say where the Iranians would find the money for such a huge deal.

Another small arms purchasing delegation was reported by a London Sunday paper to be in Britain. It said Britain had already agreed to service Iran's Chieftain tanks, and was reported to have said it will help Iran but only to a degree that would preserve its neutrality between it and Iraq. Britain is to release a warship paid for by Iran but not delivered until now, it was also reported.

The Paris weekly L'EXPRESS also reported that a number of Khomeyni's generals were in regular contact, via a line through Rome, with Israeli officials to inform them of their needs and to obtain advice. Contact was made within a few minutes, it said.

CSO: 4600/361

IRANIANS IN DIASPORA

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English No 63, 18 Mar 82 pp 9-10

[Article by Teezbin]

[Text] I have made so many references in this column to the cynical attitude of the Western world to Iranians and their problems that it was an agreeable surprise to find that no less distinguished a journal than the LONDON TIMES shares many of my views on the subject. So what better than to reproduce for those who have not had the chance to read it the editorial of last Monday entitled "Poverty Makes Strange Bedfellows."

"A consortium of friends and supporters of the Khomeyni regime in Iran would make a very curious gathering. It would bring together President Hafiz al-Assad of Syria, whose foreign minister is currently visiting Tehran with a large retinue of officials, and Mr Menachem Begin, whose country--according to Western intelligence sources quoted by the New York TIMES--is now supplying about half Iran's imports of arms, spare parts and ammunition. Colonel Gadhafi of Libya would be there, along with the leaders of the militant Shi'ite organisation in Lebanon, Amal, who have not forgiven Gadhafi for the mysterious disappearance of their "Imam," Musa Sadr, in Libya in 1978. President Kim Il Sung of North Korea might find himself seated next to a British delegate, who could be either a director of Talbot or a salesman from the Ministry of Defence offering to repair some Chieftain tanks.

"Presumably there would also be someone from the Soviet Union, but he would have to be carefully refolding his copy of PRAVDA so that the conclusion of a recent article, calling for good-neighbourly links between Iran and the Soviet Union, was visible but not the body of the text with its long litany of complaints about Iranian policy. America, for obvious reasons, would not be represented by American diplomats but might perhaps send a message of good will through President Evren of Turkey, whose government last week concluded what was described by the Iranian minister who signed it, Mr Behzad Nabavi, as probably the biggest barter deal ever concluded between Iran and any other country.

"A similar gathering for Iraq, of course, would be even better attended and much less furtive. The 'moderate' Arab heads of state, from King Hussain to King Khalid, would be there in force. Mr John Nott would probably be there

in person, not merely offering to repair captured Iranian Chieftains but urging the merits of the Hawk as a training aircraft. Of course, he would say, it will not be available for a year or two, and the war with Iran may not last that long, but it could still come in awfully useful for destroying Kurdish villages, and, given the incurably insubordinate character of the Kurds, Iraqi governments are likely to go on wanting it for that purpose for a long time yet. (The RAF, with rather more primitive aircraft, used to carry out the same task on behalf of King Faisal's government back in the 1920s.) But Mr Nott would be elbowed aside by his French colleague, M. Charles Hernu, who would come with armfuls of howitzers, tanks and electronic military equipment, as well as glossy brochures for the Mirage 2000.

"It would be tactless for anyone at such a gathering to mention a few unpleasant facts: for instance, that the Iranian people are being oppressed by a bloodthirsty, reactionary and chaotic regime which by its own admission has executed thousands for political crimes; or that the Iraqi regime, while rather better organised, is no less ruthless, has deported large numbers of Kurds from their homeland to other parts of the country and large numbers of second- or third-generation Iraqi residents across the border to Iran, with only the clothes that stand up in, and is moreover the aggressor in the war with Iran; that both regimes have been accused by Amnesty International of the widespread and systematic use of torture.

"Such facts would be out of place in a gathering of serious international statesmen, who have, after all, to consider the effects on unemployment in the West Midlands as well as the geopolitical implications if the wrong super-power gains influence with one or other of the dictators. Human rights are out of fashion. But should they be? Are workers in Vickers or the Royal Ordnance Factories better off today because their talents were harnessed to satisfying the megalomania of the late Shah? Have Soviet ambitions been checked in Iran by the West's willingness to support the Shah, ignoring the human rights of his subjects, until those subjects rose up en masse to throw him and his foreign friends out of the country? Are cynicism and realism necessarily synonymous, or is it not time we made a serious effort to avoid being the accomplices of despotism and aggression in the Middle East?"

The editorial rather tailed off in the last paragraph, didn't it? It was as if the writer wanted to show his objective view of things but suddenly realised he had to be a dinner in 15 minutes. So he contented himself with some conventional genuflection to the glib theory of the late Shah's megalomania and his obliviousness to human rights.

As to the rather mystifying question on "Are workers at Vickers or the Royal Ordnance Factories better off today because their talents were harnessed to satisfying the megalomania of the late Shah" the answer is a confident yes. Not only those workers but thousands more benefited from what many people felt were overpriced contracts with Iran. As did the population as a whole as a result of the generous loans the Shah made to Britain--along with many other countries who went to him with the begging bowl and kept silent about human rights on those occasions.

Do we have to repeat it endlessly--why does the Western media dismiss the Shah's regime as if it was merely a repressive society which achieved nothing for the country? A lot of things went wrong, as they have in Britain and the United States where officials and public have much greater experience and social balance. But whatever his failings and unsatisfactory aspects of his Iran he achieved wonders for the mass of the people, who were aroused against him by the discontented better-off whose expectations of democracy and liberal freedoms to match their high salaries and benefits he found it impossible to satisfy.

Even if you defend the poor old boy you are accused of claiming he was a paragon, or of defending corruption or overspending on arms. But his record is far better than that of those who followed him, whether it be in rights, economic achievements or providing dignity and respect for Iran and Iranians throughout the world. But those Western critics will only be satisfied by Third World regimes which reduce the whole of their populations to living on starvation level. Though the Western pressmen themselves stay in the best hotels, and drink and stuff themselves to the full while on the job, they love to see a whole nation just above starvation level. That's the way any ruler can get their praise.

CSO: 4600/361

## BRIEFS

POLITICAL BAN ON GUARDS--The supreme commander of the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps has informed all members of the Revolution Guards Corps in a communique that, according to the decree of the imam of the nation, not a single member of the corps has the right to become a member of any political party or group in the country. [Excerpt] [CF951030 Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 17 Mar 82 p 2]

'TASS' COMMENTARY ON RELATIONS--The official Soviet news agency, TASS, carried a commentary stating that there are forces in Iran that want to harm Soviet-Iranian relations without thinking what harm can come from this policy. TASS also complained that the Tehran government's remarks that the Soviet Union and the United States are equally dangerous for the Tehran regime are illogical. The TASS commentary states that Moscow has always supported and will continue to support and will continue to support Ayatollah Khomeyni's regime. During recent months, commercial relations between Iran and the Soviet Union have increased considerably and the volume of trade between the two countries during the past year was estimated to be \$1 billion. In the security field, Soviet KGB agents assist the security agents of Khomeyni's regime and experts have come to Tehran from the Soviet Union to reconstruct and expand the regime's security organization known as the Savama. [Text] [NC021706 (Clandestine) Free Voice of Iran in Persian to Iran 1500 GMT 2 Apr 82]

RAJAVI, BANDI-SADR COMMUNIQUE--The Voice of Iran correspondent reports from Paris that Mas'ud Rajavi and 'Abol Hasan Bani-sadr, the joint leaders of the so-called National Council of Resistance have once again announced that following the overthrow of Khomeyni's regime, an interim government will be set up and the country will be called the "Democratic Islamic Republic of Iran." In a communique issued by Rajavi and Bani-sadr at the villa where they reside, it is claimed that the transitional government of the Democratic Islamic Republic of Iran will hold free elections of the constitutional assembly within 6 months to consider (?implementation) of the constitution of the new Democratic Islamic Republic. Social and political liberties like freedom of speech will be extended to the people and political prisoners will be released. In this communique, it is claimed that all members of the National Resistance Council have endorsed and signed the program. However, in the communique itself, only the names of Bani-sadr and Rajavi can be seen. [Text] [(Clandestine) Voice of Iran in Persian 0330 GMT 4 Apr 82]

MINISTER'S TOUR OF AHVAZ--Tehran, 4 Apr (IRNA)--Government spokesman Ahmad Tavakkoli said Saturday that one could not imagine the degree of damage inflicted upon the Iraqis unless one saw the recently liberated areas in Iranian territory. Tavakkoli, also minister of labour and social affairs, made such remarks following his recent tour to the regions liberated in the course of the "Fat'h" [victory] operations which started on March 22. He added that what the combatants of Islam prayed for was for Imam Khomeyni's health. Commenting on his visit to Bostan and Susandgerd southern warfronts, the government spokesman said that it was hard to believe how Iraqis, who during the time of the ousted Bani-sadr, approached the city of Ahvaz, could be forced to withdraw to the borders. Referring to his inspection tour of Ahvaz rolling mill and steel complex, Tavakkoli stressed that in spite of the vicious attempts of the Iraqi forces to damage the mill, it was operating and the production was very good. He said that the Ahvaz steel complex, which for years operated under the supervision of foreigners, was operating with a satisfactory capacity thanks to the efforts of the Iranian officials. [Text] [LD041124 Tehran IRNA in English 0030 GMT 4 Apr 82]

CSO: 4600/378

VILLAGE LEAGUE CHIEF DUDIN ON COEXISTENCE WITH JEWS

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 12 Mar 82 Sec II p 3

[Article by Mogens Kofod-Hansen]

[Text] Hebron--In the city of Abraham, Mustafa Dudin, who was a big man in Jordan, has organized the rural Palestinian population and has now challenged fate and the PLO by calling for peace and coexistence with Israel.

Mustafa Dudin lives life dangerously. He is undoubtedly high on the PLO terrorists' death list, for he is the only Palestinian leader of stature who has had the courage and the strength to challenge Yasser Arafat and contest his claim to be the sole representative of the Palestinian people.

How dangerous it is was apparent when I drove into Abraham's city, Hebron, on the road from Bethlehem. The house in which Dudin has his office is a fortress between flowering almond trees. Groups of armed Arab guards stood on the roof, in the garden, on the stone steps, in the hall and by the windows. Outside on the road stood a jeep containing Israeli soldiers.

The reason is that Mustafa Dudin has succeeded in organizing almost all the rural people on the Israeli-controlled West Bank, Judea and Samaria--over 70 percent of the Palestinians, the owners of 90 percent of the land. He has become a formidable competitor to Arafat who in his self-proclaimed leadership role does not tolerate any other leading figure or organization except himself and the PLO.

We Pray to God

And Dudin also dares to speak up for peace and coexistence with the Israelis--not by incorporating the West Bank into the Jewish state, not as Begin wants it, not by setting up Palestinian autonomy under Israeli supremacy, but in an alliance somewhat resembling the Swiss canton system, made up of Israel, Palestine and Jordan.

"Four wars and 30 years of hostility have not brought peace any closer. Only the initiative of deceased President Sadat has done so. We pray day and night that God will bring peace to the Holy Land."

It is not just anyone who is taking that bold position. It is not, as the PLO propaganda claims, a traitor. As a person, an organizer and a politician, Mustafa Dudin is an unusual figure. An Arab patriot. For many years a member of the government of Jordan, general secretary of its only political party, the Arab Union Party, adviser to King Hussein--as well as adviser to former Egyptian President Nasser for some years--and for a time, Jordan's ambassador to Kuwait and later to Saudi Arabia.

"In 1976 I came home from Jordan to my village, Dura, the biggest one on the West Bank, and learned immediately from my friends and supporters how badly things were going here," he said. "The villages were neglected by both the Arabs and the Jews. They lacked public services, water, roads, electricity, schools, clinics, and so forth."

The towns, on the other hand, received a lot of help, Dudin added, \$450 million, channeled through a joint committee made up of the PLO and Jordan, which was set up as the result of a decision made at an Arab summit meeting. "The money was meant to be invested for the benefit of the inhabitants, but it was mainly used to promote terrorism. In the villages money went only to people working as agents for Arafat or for the Jordanian intelligence service."

#### Terror and Murder

"The unfairness was obvious," said Dudin. "We agreed that it was necessary to set up a village league that could work on a cooperative basis for development and the improvement of the quality of life in the villages."

A request to organize in the Hebron area was submitted to the Israeli military government on the West Bank in June 1977. There was opposition and it took 13 months before permission was granted. "Both Arabs and Jews criticized and condemned the idea. The Arabs accused us among other things of cooperating with Israel and of seeking self-rule instead of independence, thus breaking national unity."

In addition, the big landowners, the Effendi, opposed the league. "They have always had the peasants slaving for them and therefore they did not want them to be free," Dudin stated.

"But the worst was--and still is--the PLO, which does not want any other organization on the West Bank or in the Gaza area. The PLO employs all methods from propaganda to terror and murder. We saw this 3 months ago when the chairman of the village league in the Ramallah district, Yussef Khatib and his son were murdered."

### Strong Challenge

But nothing has been able to halt the movement's rapid growth. The Hebron league covers 74 villages with 140,000 inhabitants. Its results so far: 65 km of roads, 24 schools, four clinics, 25 villages supplied with electricity. And now they are bringing running water into 15 villages. "Before this we drank along with the animals."

Similar leagues have been formed in Bethlehem (35 villages), Ramallah (100), Tulkarm (80), Jenin (75)--a total of 364 villages--and one is being set up in Nablus, the biggest town on the West Bank. Thus practically all the rural Arab population is included--a formidable challenge to the PLO and Jordan.

Therefore Mustafa Dudin speaks with political weight when he says: "It is important to understand that there are two nations between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan River, the Arabs and the Jews. The Jews cannot throw all the Arabs out into the desert and the Arabs cannot throw all the Jews into the sea. It is God's will that there will be no political solution unless this fact is taken into account."

### Losers and Winners

Arafat's opponent in Hebron is well aware of the risk he runs when he adds: "For our own sake and for the sake of our children and future generations, we must seek peace and we must realize that terror and bloodshed do not lead us there. And to achieve peace the two nations must learn to trust each other and live together. Unfortunately the terrorists interpret this as treason. And one can understand that, for each catastrophe we have gone through has left losers and winners behind--the losers are the majority, the winners are the minority like our brothers who advocate terror and have become millionaires as a result of it."

Of the realities offered by coexistence with the Jewish state, this unusual man said in conclusion: "The majority of our workers can only find work in Israel. We must live with conditions as they are while our brothers reap the profit of our tragedy. We have never accepted the occupation, we are not opposed to any other Arab people but we are seeking a solution to the tragedy via a peace process because there is no other way."

### Mutual Interests

Politically, this involves a compromise in Mustafa Dudin's opinion. He sees two possibilities--either Israel will withdraw and the West Bank will be joined with Jordan again, perhaps in a federation, or a Swiss-style confederation made up of Jordan, Palestine and Israel will be established--with the central, Palestinian part demilitarized out of consideration of Israel's security. "We three could be partners. We have mutual interests, after all."

Daring ideas. So daring that on Wednesday the Jordanians threatened Dudin and "all of his type," just as the PLO has been doing for some time.

**SIZE OF OIL RESERVES QUESTIONED**

Paris AFRICA AFP in English No 2881, 19 Mar 82 p 8

[Article: "Sudan: Nothing Definite"]

[Text] Khartoum, March 17--The official announcement that oil had been discovered in Southern Sudan led to considerable speculation when it was made in July 1980, but almost two years later there is still no precise indication of the country's potential oil wealth.

By mid-1980 the American company Chevron was producing 15,000 barrels a day from four wells near Juba in South-West Sudan, and in an interview at the time Sudanese Oil Minister Sharif Al Touhami speculated that within a short while Sudan would be "producing and exporting this crude oil, and thereby able to solve a number of economic problems."

But 20 months later some oil executives based here wonder whether the Minister might not have been over-optimistic, and they point out that construction work on the proposed refinery at Kosti, 350 kilometres (220 miles) south of Khartoum, has yet to get under way. The same applies to the pipeline which was going to connect Kosti to the oilfield.

Other oilmen still think that Sudan has a rich future ahead of it.

The total cost of the project has been estimated at almost 1,000 million dollars, of which 800 million would be for the refinery alone. Chevron is providing 40 percent of this.

The optimists think that the American company has discovered far greater reserves than the first estimates of 3,000 barrels daily and wants to drop the Kosti project in favour of enlarging the existing refinery at Port Sudan. This way it would be easier to export any excess oil.

**World glut link**

Basing their speculation on "absolutely reliable information," they say that Chevron has recently imported a "considerable" quantity of equipment.

They say that almost 100 additional engineers and technicians have arrived in Sudan over the past few weeks.

But both the optimists and the pessimists agree that Chevron's apparent lack of enthusiasm is connected with the world oil glut.

All the companies operating here, particularly those working for the French group Total, complain of the conditions of work. For the time being, they all prefer to keep a low profile, and quietly stay on hand waiting for better days. (A.F.P.)

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**SMUGGLING OF COMMODITIES PLAGUES NATION'S ECONOMY**

Damascus AL-BA'TH in Arabic 21 Jan 82 p 6

[Report on Interview with Qahtan al-Suyufi, general manager of the Customs Department by 'Abi 'Abbud; date and place not given.]

[Excerpts] Not a year passes by without the formation of committees to study the causes of smuggling and to find a solution to this problem. The concerned authorities take action upon the recommendations of these committees and within a short period the public begins to feel that the problem has been brought under control. This situation only lasts a few months and the problem soon returns as if nothing had changed. The above situation drives us to question whether smuggling has become inherent within our system and simply cannot be solved.

To answer this question and others we conducted an interview with Mr Qahtan al-Suyufi, the general manager of the customs department.

**Smuggling Opportunities Around Everywhere**

Nobody doubts that the solution of the problem is not commensurate with the hopes attached to it. In fact, the ordinary citizen has begun to lose hope of finding any solution. This feeling is associated with past experience with the problem: committees were formed and their recommendations implemented, but the problem persists because loopholes are found. A short tour of the camps, the Beirut taxi depot, Madaya, Dar'a and most other border areas confirms this fact. It is now well-known that all one needs to do to obtain practically anything, from paper tissue to electrical goods, is to know someone with smuggling connections.

The question that comes to mind is whether black markets can ever be stopped. The customs office general manager claims that their capabilities are meager. In fact, he himself was directly involved in a raid on smugglers at Madaya, only to see smuggled goods reappear the very next day. Mr al-Suyufi does not believe there is sufficient cooperation between the local authorities and the customs officials. The plan to contain smuggling in the province of Hims

had succeeded because of the cooperation of the local authorities there as well as popular organizations. Mr al-Suyufi calls on all other provinces to grant this matter serious consideration, particularly those provinces surrounding Damascus and Dar'a.

### Everything Is Smuggled

One quick look at the smuggled goods on the market is enough to conclude that this industry has greatly expanded. It now includes virtually everything. The number of people involved in smuggling has greatly increased, a fact which alone makes the problem exceedingly more difficult. Hope of solving the problem through even the harshest and most direct methods is gradually dwindling. Besides American cigarettes (the most popular smuggled item) one can obtain just about anything one fancies, including radios, tape recorders, television sets, stoves, refrigerators, furniture, porcelain, tiles, alcohol, perfumes, clothing, tires, spare parts, cement and iron.

The amounts of illegal goods that are confiscated, despite the modest capabilities of the customs department, remain huge. However, it does make one wonder just how much smuggled items have actually passed through unnoticed.

Doesn't this mean that the percentage of goods that make it through is still very high? And, more importantly, what effect does this have on the economy? And just how do these goods pass through in the first place?

Transit commerce is responsible for 50 percent of all smuggled items, Mr al-Suyufi confirmed. However, the customs officials have been able to contain this problem more or less by implementing the resolutions and directives emanating from the cabinet. The year 1981 can be regarded as the year that contained 50 percent of the principal smuggling channels by imposing stringent controls over transit commerce.

Mr al-Suyufi told us that transit trucks used to unload part of their goods in Syria and pretend, through their documentation, that all the goods were still on the way out. Some trucks used to completely unload their goods and drive out of the country with other goods.

Millions of liras worth of confiscated goods have been seized in 1981. The main aim of organizing transit commerce was to encourage international commerce through Syria and to implement trade agreements with neighboring countries.

To eliminate the smuggling of kerosene customs officials now accompany the gasoline trucks. This has had a substantial effect on the reduction of smuggling. A customs official would accompany the cargo containers from entrance ports like Bab al-Hawa, the ports of Latakia and Tartus, Jadidah, Dabbusiyah, Dar'a and al-Natif. This measure was much welcomed by international shipping companies. Amongst other positive effects, this measure has helped control traffic driving at night. It has also helped organize port traffic and provide large amounts of hard currency to the state. The accompanying of trucks has also resulted in saving of 100 million

liras, as well as savings through the guarantee of required kerosene quantities at the respective supply centers. When one considers that 300,000 gasoline containers pass through Syria each year, one can better appreciate the enormity of the whole procedure.

The act of accompanying transit trucks started early in 1981, the first truck accompanied was on 3 March 1981 from Jadidah to Dir'a to Khan Abu Shamat. Operations on the Tartus line started on 9 May of the same year, while that of Latakia commenced 31 March. By 20 June, operations had started on the Bab al-Hawa route as well as that of Dabbusiyah.

#### Reasons Behind Smuggling Phenomenon

All the studies carried out by a number of committees conclude that the reasons behind smuggling are threefold: geographic, social and economic. On the geographic side, Syria has lengthy borders with its neighbors Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq and Turkey. These borders combined total 2274 kilometers. Given the problem of the shortage of facilities, the customs department really cannot control all movement in and out of Syria, especially since smuggling is not the only duty that the customs office has.

On the economic side, the neighboring countries have economical systems that differ from that of Syria: Accordingly, there are bound to be people who want to benefit from that difference. From the social aspect, smuggling plays a dangerous role in undermining the makeup of Syrian society, threatening to make Syria another Lebanon (where smuggling before the year 1975 was regarded as a respectable sector of that country's economy). High unemployment in the border areas is a contributing factor to the growing problem of smuggling, and thus solving this problem has to take the unemployment factor into account.

#### Procedures For Containing Problem Of Smuggling With False Documents

Smuggling can take place through import, export or "transit." It includes items that are either not on the market or items on which the duty is very high. Some of the smuggled items pass through border areas that are remote and far from official customs entrance points, or, they might in fact pass through the customs offices using false documents. Spotting false documents is not an easy job and requires substantial experience. For this purpose the general customs administration has trained and started a number of squads whose job it will be to observe and follow smuggled goods within Syria and at the border custom points. Another type of squad will train customs officials in checking false documentation.

#### Ba'th Training Program For Customs Officials

A 6 month training program was started on 31 January 1981. Training was confined to college and university graduates and its aim was to train customs personnel. The program is called the "Ba'th training program" and is the only 6 month program in the Middle East that requires examinations at the program's end. Those students who show special talents are sent abroad for further training.

The year 1982 is being planned as the year of training. Sessions will be held in all areas. Five hundred customs personnel will undergo a lengthy training session before being assigned duties. This number will give material support to the customs service says Mr al-Suyufi.

There are other training programs for section heads and officials, and others especially for customs duties. Duties are the mainstay of the customs service, and a thorough knowledge of duties is required so that personnel can differentiate between items and also know which duty to apply.

Training was nearly non-existent in the past, according to Mr al-Suyufi. The current focus on training can only have positive results in the areas of smuggling control and the application of duties. Recent increases in applicable duties (in addition to higher efficiency) have brought in a 10 percent increase in customs income. This was mainly due to new procedures and to increased arrests by customs officers, which at times cost smugglers millions of liras in fines.

#### How Do We End Smuggling?

We have previously mentioned that smuggling has geographic, economic, and social causes behind it. These causes have to be taken into consideration when thinking of a solution. The following points are means to that end:

To put an end to discrepancies between internal and external commerce planning.

To insure that local markets have the necessary provisions at prices close to those of neighboring markets.

To support and encourage local industries in their efforts to manufacture goods of a quality similar to that of goods being smuggled in.

To start employment programs in areas where this is a problem. Here the role of popular agencies and organizations is to be emphasized.

To insure availability and reserves of those products and items most in demand. This is an important element in the prevention of smuggling. Baby napkins and paper tissues are items that regularly are not produced in the required amounts.

#### Difficulties In Prevention Of Smuggling

Last year alone the total price of confiscated goods reached nearly 2,481,000 Syrian pounds, an increase of 10 percent over the year before. This figure indicates how many goods actually enter the country undetected.

Among the problems faced by customs in intercepting smuggled goods are lack of personnel, lack of modern fast cars like those being used by smugglers and lack of helicopters to assist in desert patrols which give the operations a sense of sobriety, and help to avoid casualties resulting from the use of arms by smugglers.

The effectiveness of operations to intercept smugglers requires a return of at least 20 percent of the value of smuggled goods (to meet costs). Although this mark is eventually reached, it takes a very long time, according to Mr al-Suyufi.

Mr al-Suyufi added that a new law is about to be passed that would give customs officials a higher degree of freedom in the use of arms against smugglers and some added immunity in these procedures.

One important matter mentioned by Mr al-Suyufi was that the customs department is about to introduce a radio communications system that should greatly enhance interception by departments and administration missions.

#### Impact Of Smuggling On Economy

Smuggling is directly related to the economic and social systems of any country. It is usually more prevalent in capitalist systems and is inherent to them, but when this phenomenon starts in socialist systems it takes on the form of deliberate plundering of the country's wealth: It is a form of economic war against our nation.

Smuggling can lead to economic and social problems, and its consequences can have an adverse effect on monetary, economic, social and health aspects.

On the monetary side, smuggling can reduce the income to the treasury. Healthwise, it can have an adverse effect because lots of smuggled food items can spoil and some (like drugs) can be fatal if consumed too late. Socially, it can polarize sectors of the economy and induce people to abandon all ethics and principles. In short, smuggling can cause a permanent bleeding of the nations economy.

We can see that intercepting smugglers is a task that involves other agencies and the department is following a course of modernization, both financially and economically, through procedural changes, personnel additions, and the upgrading of expertise in order to have it function as effectively as possible given the department's existing capacities.

In conclusion we can see that the prevention of smuggling requires added energy, work and effort. This was emphasized at the seventh regional convention of the Ba'th Party, which called for putting an end to the problem once and for all.

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